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SPEECHES

delivered by

H. E. the Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.I.E.,

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL,

during

1924-25.

INDEX TO SPEECHES.

	1924.	PAGES.
1. Reply to the deputation of Indian Educational Inspecting Officers ...	12th June ...	1—7
2. Speech at the Special Senate Meeting (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Memorial) ...	14th „ ...	8—13
3. Address presented by the Commissioners, Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality ...	30th „ ...	14—18
4. Address presented by the District Board, Hooghly ...	30th „ ...	19—24
5. Address presented by the Hooghly District National Muhammadan Association ...	30th „ ...	25—27
6. Reply to the Addresses presented at Chinsura ...	30th „ ...	28—43
7. Speech at the opening of the District Board Conference ...	2nd July ...	44—50
8. Speech at the opening of the Agricultural and Co-operative Conference ...	4th „ ...	51—57
9. Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation ...	5th „ ...	58—70
10. Speech at the Vigilance Association Meeting ...	7th „ ...	71—74
11. Speech at the Sheriff's Meeting of condolence on death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	11th „ ...	75—78
12. Address to the Recipients of <i>Sanads</i> at the Durbar at Dacca ...	4th Aug. ...	79—83
13. Speech at the Police Parade, Dacca ...	5th „ ...	84—89
14. Address to the Recipients of Medals and Rewards at the Police Parade, Dacca ...	5th „ ...	90—94
15. Address to the Recipients of Rewards at Dacca ...	5th „ ...	95
16. Address at the Annual Convocation of the East Bengal Saraswat Sanaj, Dacca ...	6th „ ...	96—101

	1924.	PAGES.
17. Speech at the opening of the Coronation Park School, Dacca	7th Aug. ...	102—105
18. Address to the Recipients of Badge and <i>Sanads</i> presented at Chittagong ...	9th „ ...	106
18a. Address presented by the Chiefs, Head- men and the People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts	14th „ ...	107—112
19. Reply to the Address presented at Ranga- mati	14th „ ...	113—123
20. Address presented by the Corporation of English Bazar, Malda	24th Nov. ...	124—128
21. Address presented by the District Board, Malda	24th „ ...	129—132
22. Address presented by the Muhammadan Association, Malda	24th „ ...	133—138
23. Reply to the Addresses presented at Malda	24th „ ...	139—153
24. Address to the Recipients of <i>Sanads</i> at the public reception at Malda ...	24th „ ...	154
25. Address presented by the Dinajpur Muni- cipality	26th „ ...	155, 156
26. Address presented by the District Board, Dinajpur	26th „ ...	157—160
27. Address presented by the Landholders' Association, Dinajpur	26th „ ...	161, 162
28. Address presented by the Muhammadan Association, Dinajpur	26th „ ...	163—165
29. Address presented by the Merchants of Dinajpur	26th „ ...	166, 167
30. Reply to the Addresses presented at Dinajpur	26th „ ...	168—185
31. Speech at the St. Andrew's Day Dinner	28th „ ...	186—197
32. Address to the Recipients of <i>Sanads</i> at the Durbar in Calcutta	2nd Dec. ...	198—207
33. Speech at the Durbar at Calcutta ...	2nd „ ...	208—219
34. Speech at the Prize distribution, St. Xavier's College	8th „ ...	220—228
35. Speech at the laying of the Foundation- stone, Islampur College	9th „ ...	229—240

	1925.	PAGES.
36. Speech at the Naval Dinner at Government House	3rd Jan. ..	241—245
37. Speech at the Legislative Council	7th „ ...	246—255
38. Address presented by the Municipality and the District Board, Jessore	16th „ ...	256—260
39. Reply to the Address presented at Jessore	16th „ ...	261—268
40. Speech at the Founder's Day Ceremony, Presidency College	20th „ ...	269—275
41. Address to Mr. W. Cook, Watch and Ward Officer, Eastern Bengal Railway	21st „ ...	276
42. Address to Captain R. G. Hanna, of S.S. <i>Mathura</i>	21st „ ...	277, 278
43. Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society, Bengal	4th Feb. ...	279—286
44. Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Kalimpong Home (Calcutta Committee)	20th „ ...	287—292
45. Speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University	21st „ ...	293—303
46. Speech at the Prize distribution of the Barrackpore Park School	22nd „ ...	304—307
47. Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Church Education League... ..	23rd „ ...	308—313
48. Informal Address presented by the Asansol Municipality	25th „ ...	314—316
49. Reply to the Informal Address presented at Asansol	25th „ ...	317—323
50. Speech at the Prize distribution of the La Martiniere	4th March ...	324—329
51. Address at the Convocation of Dacca University	6th „ ...	330—341
52. Address to the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, on the occasion of conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law	6th „ ...	342, 343
53. Speech in laying the Foundation-stone of the Lytton Hall, Dacca	6th „ ...	344
54. Speech at the opening of the Dacca Training College Exhibition	7th „ ...	345—347

	1925.	PAGES.
55. Speech at the Presidents' Conference, Dacca,	7th March ...	348—354
56. Reply to the Address read by the deputation from the Mahila Samiti ...	31st „ ...	355—358
57. Speech at the opening of the Blind School Building at Behala	31st „ ...	359—362

**SPEECHES, DELIVERED BY HIS EXCEL-
LENCY LORD LYTTON DURING 1924-25.**

***His Excellency's Reply to the Deputation
of Indian Educational Inspecting
Officers, on 12th June 1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

I welcome the opportunity which your deputation affords me of explaining more fully than was possible in the general *communiqué* issued by Government exactly what the position is as regards the reduction made by the Legislative Council in the vote for the inspecting staff of the Education Department. Your deputation is a very representative one; it includes officers from all parts of the province. You have stated your case with great lucidity, moderation and force, but you have attributed to me a power to help you which I no longer possess. Let me say at once that the reduction of the vote for the inspecting staff to the absurdly inadequate sum of Rs. 1,11,500, which has necessitated the notices you have received, is no part of the policy of Government. We do not approve of such a reduction and in addition to the injustice to individuals whose service to the State entitles them to more consideration, we recognize that such a reduction in the inspecting staff will inflict a most serious blow to education in the province. If it were in my power to restore the amount, by a certificate I should not hesitate to do so. You

know, however, that certain functions of Government in the province have been removed from the control of the Imperial Parliament and from that of the Governor who is the representative of Parliament in this province. These subjects are called transferred subjects and they are now administered by Ministers who are responsible to the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses any demand for a transferred subject made by Government in its budget, the Governor has no power to restore the amount. Education is a transferred subject, and so, when the Council reduced the grant for the inspecting staff from Rs. 7,46,900 to Rs. 1,11,500, Government had no option but to reduce the staff to correspond with the reduction. You will observe that the Council made no provision for notice or compensation to dismissed officers; they merely reduced the grant to the sum I have mentioned and left the Government to deal with the situation. Unless then the Council reconsider their decision and vote a larger amount there will be no authority to pay any salaries for the existing staff of inspectors and the schools will be left without any inspection.

Let me pause here to explain what this will mean. There seems to be an impression in the minds of some people that Bengal is overstaffed with school inspectors, but anyone who thinks that must be ignorant of the actual facts. There are in Bengal more schools than in any other province of India, the actual number being 53,721. Madras comes next with 40,586, Bihar and Orissa have 27,952, Burma 25,662, the United Provinces 21,568, Bombay 14,883. With the single exception

of Burma, the number of schools per each inspecting officer is far larger in Bengal than in any other province, the actual figures being Burma 154, Bengal 137, Punjab 94, Madras 85, Bihar 81, Bombay 77, etc. . The percentage of cost of inspection to total expenditure in Bengal is only 5 per cent. and it is higher in every other province except the Punjab, the United Provinces and Madras. Whether we compare the percentage cost of inspection in the Education Department with that of other departments, or whether we compare Bengal with other provinces, there is no justification whatever for the drastic reduction which has been made by the Council.

Now let me explain what the position will be if the decision of the Council is allowed to stand. If no provision is made for the payment of salaries of the existing staff during the three months that they are under notice, then no inspecting staff can be retained, as the Rs. 1,11,500 will be absorbed in paying the existing staff their salaries during the notice to which they are entitled. I feel sure, however, that the Council will not refuse to vote the amount necessary for this purpose. They will not wish to inflict an obvious injustice upon individuals nor, I think, did they intend to leave the department without any inspectors at all. The omission to provide for notice was, I am sure, an oversight which will be rectified in the next session. Assuming, therefore, that the Rs. 1,11,500 will be available for the payment of a small inspecting staff, let me explain how ridiculously inadequate that staff will be.

There will only be two Chief Inspectors—one for Eastern and one for Western Bengal—and the retention of these officers will only be possible, because they will be Indian Educational Service officers whose salaries are not votable. There will only be 1 inspectress for the whole of women's education, and she, too, will be an Indian Educational Service officer whose salary is non-votable. Of officers whose salaries are voted, it will only be possible to retain 26 district inspectors, and they will have to assume all the functions now exercised by the divisional inspectors in respect of high, middle and primary education. This means that 357 officers will have to be discharged, namely, 8 inspectors, 5 assistant inspectors for Muhammadan education, 60 subdivisional inspectors, 251 sub-inspectors, 20 assistant sub-inspectors, 1 Proctor at Dacca and 12 inspectresses—357 in all.

Now it must be perfectly obvious to anyone who will give the matter a moment's thought that with a staff of only 26 district inspectors all hope of educational efficiency must be abandoned—nothing will be possible beyond the distribution of grants-in-aid on such information as can be collected through correspondence with the local people in the areas concerned. No real inspection work can be carried out, and without inspection the whole system of primary education will break down. The only way of saving the primary education of the province will be for District Boards to create their own inspectorate.

Let me sum up what it is that the Legislative Council will have done by their vote in this matter. They will have seriously diminished the

efficiency of educational administration in the province and will have threatened the very existence of the primary schools. If these schools are to be saved, they will have imposed an additional financial burden upon the District Boards, who will have to provide the inspecting staff. They will have inflicted a most unmerited hardship upon 357 Government servants, who will be deprived of their employment and lastly, as you have pointed out, they will have shaken the confidence of all public servants, by showing the instability of their employment. Henceforth the servants of Government in the transferred departments will feel that they have no security of tenure and may, at any moment by a mere majority of one in the Legislative Council, be deprived of their livelihood.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me remind you of the only way in which these disastrous consequences may be avoided, The Legislative Council will have an opportunity in July of reversing their decision and voting the money for the retention of the inspecting staff. If they express a desire in the form of a petition to reconsider their previous vote, Government will submit a supplementary demand to enable this to be done. This is the only way in which the situation may be retrieved.

You, gentlemen, have brought your deputation to me and have appealed to me to save you from dismissal. As I have pointed out to you, I have no power to help you. I advise you, therefore, without delay to address yourselves to the men who represent in the Legislative Council the various constituencies to which you belong. They

have the power to help you if they are so disposed, it is before them that you should lay the facts that you have brought to my notice to-day and request them to vote the money which will enable the Government to retain your services. This is the only remedy which is still open to you.

There are two specific requests made in your address which are not covered by what I have said, and I will now reply to these—

(1) You ask in paragraph 10 that Government will find employment in other departments for any officers whose services may be dispensed with in consequence of the vote of the Council. I can assure you that Government will be glad to do this to the fullest extent possible, but it is obvious that the whole of the discharged officers cannot be absorbed into other departments, and the number of those whom we could employ otherwise would, I am afraid, bear a very small proportion to the total number discharged.

(2) In paragraph 9, you suggest that, if the Legislative Council refuse to reconsider their decision, I should declare an emergency and authorize the payment of your salaries by means of the special power vested in me by proviso B of section 72(D) (2) of the Government of India Act. This, I am afraid, would not be possible. Proviso B was not intended by Parliament to enable a Governor to override the decision of a Legislative Council in respect of a transferred subject. The power therein conferred was intended to be used only in a genuine emergency where, owing to special or unforeseen circumstances, no

money is otherwise available for the safety of the province or for carrying on a department. If the Legislative Council deliberately and after due consideration decide that a school inspecting staff under Government is not necessary, however much I may disagree with them or deplore their decision, I cannot call that an emergency which would justify me in overriding it.

All the other points in your address are, I think, covered by my general remarks. I agree with everything you say regarding the necessity of a school inspecting staff. I accept your description of the value of the work done by our existing inspectors, and I agree with your estimate that the irreparable damage which will be inflicted upon our educational system if this staff is reduced to the extent necessitated by the vote of the Council. I sympathize most deeply with the danger which threatens you individually and I deplore the shock to the confidence of all Government servants in the stability of their employment which has been caused by the recent votes of the Council.

I have pointed out to you the remedy that still lies in your hands, and I trust that the efforts you may make in the next three weeks to bring the facts of your case before the members of the Legislative Council and to secure their favourable consideration may be successful and that in the July Session of that body the cloud which now hangs over you may be dispersed.

His Excellency's Speech at the Special Senate Meeting (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Memorial), on 14th June 1924.

GENTLEMEN,

This is the first opportunity I have had as Chancellor of meeting in full session the members of the Senate. I wish it could have been an occasion of rejoicing which had called us together and that in the presence of some great good fortune we could join our voices in a common note of thanksgiving. Alas! it is a very different matter which has caused us to meet. We have assembled under the shadow of a great disaster, we stand in the presence of death, and with bowed heads and heavy hearts we have come to mourn the loss of our University's greatest son.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the most striking and representative Bengali of his time. The versatility of his intellect and the variety of his interests were so great that there is scarcely any department of the public life of this province which has not been left the poorer by his death. But in this place, and in the presence of those who were his colleagues and fellow-workers, I would recall to you not the brilliant lawyer nor the learned Judge, nor the many-sided scholar, nor the patron and administrator of countless learned societies, but rather the man who in the interests of this University and in furtherance of that object for which it stands—the advancement of learning—devoted to the cause of education through a period of 35 years those

hours, which other men less intellectually gifted or possessed of less indefatigable energy reserve for recreation or repose.

The University of Calcutta, as it stands to-day, bears the indelible impress of those 35 years of devoted labour. What the University is to-day is the result of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work. During his time two University Commissions sat. The first Commission, distrustful though Sir Asutosh was of the trend of its recommendations, in reality paved the way for what proved to be the main achievement of his life in University matters, namely, the development of the University as a home of advanced learning and as a teaching organization. To that development he devoted all his immense energies, his organizing genius, and his administrative powers and he finally succeeded in building up the great Post-Graduate Department, which is the most striking feature of Calcutta University at the present day. That the imposition of this upper storey upon the buildings of the ground floor had revealed and intensified in an alarming degree the structural defects of the latter Sir Asutosh was the first to admit, and as a member of the Sadler Commission he signed a report which frankly recognized this fact.

The Post-Graduate Department of this University was the outstanding product of Sir Asutosh's great career. To that development which needed his vigilant and unremitting attention he sacrificed, as he once said, a great part of his strength and vitality, as also those opportunities of scholarly research which he valued so highly. Of any

change, of any reform, in other departments of the University which might conceivably affect the welfare of that special development, he was ever distrustful, and in latter years, I think, he tended to bring most questions of University reform to this one test, namely, their effect on the Post-Graduate Department.

So completely did he, the creator of this department, dominate and control the whole of its activities, so concentrated was his attention upon its progress and development that he could admit no fault in any policy, which made for its advancement, and was, perhaps, a little too ready to see in the critics of other features of the life of the University potential enemies of the cause that was so near his heart. In the last year he and I have been spoken of as antagonists, but there was no fundamental difference of principle between us to justify any antagonism. Myself a graduate of a great University, I am able to sympathize with the University point of view, and I approach all the affairs of this University as its Chancellor first and only subsequently as the Governor of the province. We ought to have been great collaborators and it was always my hope that time would have convinced Sir Asutosh that there was nothing antagonistic between my ideals and his. Even if there had been more reality than I am prepared to admit in the issues which seemed temporarily to divide us, all controversy would be silenced in the presence of death. To-day we can think only of the great intellectual powers which he placed so long at the

service of his University, of the years of unremitting toil which he cheerfully spent in the task of organizing and administering its higher branches, and of the renown, not only in India, but in Europe, which he thereby gained for Calcutta. Let us remember with gratitude that powerful encouragement to scholarship which he was always ready to extend to any man, whether Bengali or foreigner, whose talents might bring lustre to the University or stimulate research and learning within its walls. Let us pay homage to the man, who, year after year, whether as Vice-Chancellor or from an equally influential position in the background, controlled and guided the college and school system which the University, through its functions, as an examining body, is called upon to administer—the man, who above all others, in the eyes of his countrymen and in the eyes of the world, represented the University so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the University and the University was Sir Asutosh. As Louis XIV could say *L'état c'est moi*, so with equal truth could Sir Asutosh have said “I am the University.”

•We have something more to do to-day than merely to pay verbal tribute to the great man whom we have met to mourn. Let us also consider in what way we can most fittingly mark our appreciation of his work and what monument will most worthily perpetuate his memory. It has been suggested to me that the new University buildings, which are nearing completion, should be named after Sir Asutosh. If you, gentlemen, are willing, by all means let this be done. •The buildings belong

to the University and we need no other sanction than our own wishes. But such a step, if adopted, cannot take the place of a greater memorial to which I feel sure the whole of Bengal will wish to contribute. A public meeting will no doubt be held to consider what form the memorial should take, but in such a matter the University should take the lead and I venture, therefore, to make a suggestion for the consideration of the Committee which you will presently be asked to appoint. Let me remind you again that the greatest achievement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's life was the transformation of Calcutta University into a centre of advanced instruction and research. This was the work nearest his heart, the work on which he spent his energies to the very limit of his endurance, and what worthier memorial to his memory can we conceive than an endowment of that Post-Graduate Department which he created. Let each one of us severally resolve that this cherished creation of his life shall not suffer because he has left us. Gentlemen, while his great work is still fresh in our minds, while we almost seem to see him sitting in our midst and can still hear the echoes of his commanding voice, let all differences be forgotten, all mistakes forgiven, let us resolve to build over his ashes a temple of reconciliation. Let us unite in the common determination to work together for those changes which are inevitable, if our University is to keep its fair name before the world. Let the foundation-stone of that temple of reconciliation be a joint and common purpose to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his dying hands, and in the years to come, whatever

changes may be found essential in the general organization of the University, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom, or its future development.

In the regrettable absence through illness of the Vice-Chancellor, I now call upon Sir Nilratan Sarkar to move the resolution which I have entrusted to him, expressive of our profound sorrow at the loss which we have sustained and of our deep appreciation of the lifetime of service and sacrifice which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee gave to the University

*Address presented by the Commissioners of the
Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality, on 30th June
1924.*

1. We, the Commissioners of the Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality, beg leave to approach Your Excellency with this our humble tribute of respect and to offer Your Excellency a most cordial welcome on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this ancient and historic town.

2. We crave leave to take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency and through you His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor of our deep and sincere loyalty and unswerving devotion to his person and throne.

3. This classic town, which once attracted many European settlers and still cherishes on its bosom the relics of three great European settlements—the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch—was, towards the end of the last century, affected seriously by the ravages of Malaria, Cholera and other fell diseases, and two schemes—one for the introduction of filtered water-supply and the other for improved drainage system—were formulated for an effective improvement of its sanitary condition. The munificent Government grant of two and-a-half lakhs of rupees and the princely contribution of Raja Krista Das Law and Raja Hrishi Kesh Law, C.I.E., and the generous pecuniary assistance rendered by other public-spirited gentlemen of the province enabled the Commissioners to take up and complete the first scheme, and the town now enjoys the benefit of filtered water which has materially improved the sanitation of the headquarters of

the metropolitan district of Hooghly. But the steady increase in the number of house connections, as also the street standposts during the last ten years to meet the growing and reasonable demands of residents and the consequent gradual decline in the high pressure in town supply maintained at the start, have placed the Commissioners in a fix, and they are now confronted with the inevitable necessity of early arranging for a greater production and storage of filtered water either by construction of at least one additional settling tank and two slow sand filters at a cost of not less than Rs. 55,000 or by making provision for sinking a sufficient number of tube wells, which, in the opinion of experts, furnish a generally reliable and a comparatively cheap source of water-supply. As the limited income of the municipality and its chronic financial stringency brought about by economic difficulties and the high price of every article and the unavoidable necessity of taking a fresh loan of Rs. 20,000 from Government for the thorough overhauling of the machinery will not allow the Commissioners to undertake unaided the works in question, specially when they have already imposed the water-tax at a maximum rate and when their outstanding debt for the original construction and repairs and other incidental charges of waterworks which is payable at the rate of Rs. 18,700 a year, has totally exhausted their borrowing capacity under this head and will not, as a matter of fact, be wiped off till May 1934, we may be permitted to take this opportunity to invite the attention of Your Excellency to the urgent need of a suitable grant from the Provincial Revenue for the purpose.

4. We further crave leave to state that the town, which is soon destined to enjoy the benefit of electric lights and has already been provided with electric installations with the object of not only lighting the town, but also in encouraging industries in populous portions thereof, is practically without any improved system of drainage. Hitherto we could, with the limited resources at our disposal, take up only very small portions of congested areas and insanitary quarters, and give them by instalments the benefit of surface drains of improved pattern as recommended by the Sanitary Engineer of Bengal in a scheme prepared by him so far back as 1908, but shelved on account of the prohibitive cost which it would entail. We have more than once invited the attention of Your Excellency's Government to the supreme necessity of improving the drains at least in these areas which are regarded as highly insanitary by reasons of the absence of any effective drainage arrangement. We again earnestly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take some steps by which the Commissioners may be encouraged to tackle the drainage question systematically and successfully.

5. We beg leave also to invite Your Excellency's attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the roads of the municipal town which claims to include within its limits 40 miles of *pucca* and 30 miles of *kutchra* roads. In our annual budget estimates, after making suitable provisions for other requirements, we cannot generally provide more than Rs. 10,000 for the repairs of roads. But as many of the important roads are in a state of bad

repairs, we cannot reasonably expect to satisfy the necessary demand for thorough repairs without spending at least Rs. 50,000 in the course of the current year. Circumstanced as we are, we have no other alternative but to turn to Your Excellency for financial help and pray that Your Excellency will graciously be pleased, either by making a suitable grant or by sanctioning a loan on favourable terms, to put us in the way of meeting the crying demand for bringing the roads to an efficient and good condition.

6. The people of the town were much concerned at the report of the contemplated abolition of the Hooghly Collegiate School which has many interesting traditions and is one of the oldest popular institutions of the province. Now that we are assured by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and other educational authorities that the report is not well founded, we take this opportunity to approach Your Excellency for the solution of the problem of permanently housing the institution by removing it to a Government building in Chinsura which may be spared for the purpose.

7. The Commissioners also beg leave to invite Your Excellency's attention to the excellent work that is being done by the several defence force parties in the town of Hooghly-Chinsura. In view of the good services rendered by the members of the defence force, sometimes even at the risk of their lives, we beg leave to submit that Your Excellency may be pleased to empower a few of the members, who will be thought fit by the District Magistrate,

to arrest under section 54 of the Criminal Procedure Code such persons who might be suspected of having committed any offence and to possess firearms without payment of any fees.

8. In conclusion, we once more beg leave to accord Your Excellency, a most cordial and hearty welcome and pray for Your Excellency's long life, health and prosperity.

Address presented by the Members of the District Board of Hooghly, on 30th June 1924.

1. We, the members of the District Board of Hooghly, representing the people resident in the district, beg to offer Your Excellency a most respectful and cordial welcome on Your Excellency's first visit to this district. We beg most respectfully to convey our loyal homage and devotion to His Most Gracious and Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and his throne through Your Excellency.

2. We beg to avail ourselves of this opportunity of drawing Your Excellency's attention to the question of rural water-supply. Though the funds at the disposal of this Board are inadequate, this Board is doing its level best to solve this question. It is making a survey of the requirements in this direction of the villages through the agency of the Union Boards and it is the ambition of this Board to solve that problem within a measureable distance of time. The District Board will not spare money in this direction and the people, too, are coming forward with their contributions. But all these are not sufficient and the money placed at the disposal of our Collector this year for the said purpose is also inadequate. In these circumstances this Board looks forward to a greater measure of financial help in this direction from Your Excellency's Government.

3. We further beg to approach Your Excellency, with a request to take up the question of the

Damodar Canal scheme during Your Excellency's term of office. The administrative sanction of the Secretary of State to this project has been accorded. It now only remains to provide funds to put this scheme into execution. The scheme, if put in operation, will harness the formidable river Damodar and will put a stop to the ravages caused by the destructive annual floods of that mighty river and at the same time will supply water to the dying rivers which are very large in number in the Bardwan Division. In this district specially there are a large number of rivers with their tributaries which at once supply water both for irrigation and drinking purposes, and if the Damodar Canal scheme be taken up all these rivers will be rejuvenated with the result that Malaria and Cholera will disappear from our villages which will again become habitable and smiling. In this connection we also invite a reference to the valuable report of Mr. Addams-Williams and pray that protective measures recommended in the report may be taken up as soon as possible. Closely allied with this, is the irrigation problem, as agriculture in this district is essentially dependent on the rains. This district has started establishing irrigation societies on co-operative basis and there are irrigation channels in this district in Dankuni and Rajapur basins, but we regret to notice that these channels are being silted up and not kept in proper order. We invite Your Excellency's kind attention to this matter in the hope that the Public Works Department will take more care of these schemes and projects in future.

We were proud to have an agricultural school in our district, but we are sorry to note that this school, though the only school in West Bengal, has been recently abolished. This district being essentially inhabited by the middle-class people, the question of unemployment is undoubtedly keen here, and this agricultural school, if revived and conducted on proper lines, will go a great way towards solving that problem.

We also venture to draw Your Excellency's attention to the urgent necessity of doing something to solve the question of unemployment and we will humbly suggest the establishment of a properly-equipped technical school at the headquarters of this division.

We would also venture to point out to Your Excellency that Chinsura possesses good many hospitals, and the Police Hospital, the Military Police Hospital, the Emambara Hospital and the Lady Dufferin Hospital have between them more than one hundred beds. The students of this district are no longer allowed admission in the Campbell Medical School, but are required to get admission in the Ronaldshay Medical School at Burdwan. The students of this district have experienced great difficulties in getting admission into the said school, and this district being notoriously malarious and unhealthy, and the number of the qualified medical practitioners in the rural areas being very small, the people of this district have felt pressing need of a medical school in the headquarters of this district. The people of this district will be glad to co-operate in bringing into existence the medical and technical schools,

and we pray that Your Excellency will take into your kind consideration the establishment of these three institutions in this district and remove keenly-felt wants of this district.

4. We beg to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that the whole of this district is divided into 125 Union Boards, but unfortunately, owing to the poverty of the people, these Union Boards have not been able to do much towards village sanitation, water-supply and other necessary improvements. The major portion of the taxes raised by these Union Boards is swallowed up in paying the salaries and equipment of the chaukidars and dafadars. These latter render a lot of public duty, but not really pertinent to their village watch and ward. It is submitted that the revenue derived from the resumed chaukidari-chakran lands is not proportionate to the services rendered by the chaukidars and dafadars to the State. Considering that the primary duty of the State is to protect the people committed to its care, we pray that at least a portion of the pay of the chaukidars and dafadars be met from the provincial funds as it is done in municipal areas, so that Union Boards might become more useful and popular by spending more money on village improvements. In this connection we may draw Your Excellency's attention to certain defects in the Village Self-Government Act. The Union Board ought to be the sole authority for fixing the number of chaukidars and dafadars, their pay and their appointment and dismissal, as in the amended Chaukidari Act, and the Chairman, District Board, ought to have sole control in the matter of the nomination of the members of the Union Boards and the assessment made by the Union Boards.

5. We beg to invite Your Excellency's attention to the great need of augmenting the resources of the District Board. We may point out that though the revaluation is going on in our district, still we hold that it is not enough to enable this Board to cope adequately with its increasing responsibilities. At the conference at Government House of the representatives of the District Boards of Bengal, the representatives of this Board raised the question of repeal of section 8 of the Bengal Cess Act to enable District Boards to levy cesses on railways. Your Excellency's predecessor was favourably impressed with the idea, but there appears to be some hitch in some quarter in carrying out this idea. We pray that Your Excellency will take into your kind consideration the repeal of section 8 of the Bengal Cess Act and section 135 of the Indian Railways Act, and this will be conferring a great boon on the District Boards of Bengal.

6. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that on account of inadequacy of Board's fund, construction of new roads and opening up new localities have become an impossibility. We have got handsome offers for construction of new and important feeder roads by way of contribution, but we are feeling great difficulty in accepting them as that will involve a heavy burden on our slender resources. We pray that in the construction of such important thoroughfares Government may be pleased to supplement our efforts by proportionate contribution.

We will also draw Your Excellency's attention to the railway project of the Santragachi-Vishnupur Chord Line sanctioned some time ago, which line,

if opened, will give to the people of Arambagh, an isolated subdivision of this district, an easy communication to the outside world, and we pray that the project may be taken up during Your Excellency's tenure of office.

7. We further beg to approach Your Excellency, with a request to consider the cases of three inhabitants of this district, (1) Babu Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpura, (2) Babu Bhupati Charan Mazumdar of Hooghly, (3) Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghose of Hooghly, who have been detained under Regulation III of 1818, favourably, and Your Excellency may be pleased either to set them free or place them on trial before an ordinary court of justice.

8. We also beg to invite Your Excellency's attention to the present state of affairs at Tarakeswar and we earnestly pray that Your Excellency's Government would preserve strict neutrality by not allowing any interference with the religious worship by the people of the deities at Tarakeswar.

9. In conclusion, we once more beg leave to accord to Your Excellency a most hearty welcome and pray for Your Excellency's long life, happiness and prosperity.

Address presented by the Hooghly District National Muhammadan Association, on 30th June 1924.

1. We, the members of the Managing Committee of the Hooghly District National Muhammadan Association, on behalf of the Association and the entire Muhammadan population of the district, beg to offer our most cordial and respectful welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this ancient and historic town, and beg to assure Your Excellency of our deep feeling of loyalty to the throne and person of our Gracious Sovereign, King George the Fifth.

2. We have always given our humble and loyal support to all measures of Government, calculated to promote the welfare of the country and the maintenance of law and order, and we strongly disapprove of the conduct of the Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council who voted against the resolution moved by Khan Bahadur Mushraf Hossain and against the demand in the budget for the salaries of the Ministers and certain other demands necessary for the efficient administration of the nation-building departments in spite of due warning. We confidently assure Your Excellency that the great bulk of the Muhammadans think as we do in this matter.

3. Your Excellency is aware that the Muhammadans in West Bengal are in the minority and they are not at all adequately represented in the self-governing local bodies. We earnestly pray

that early steps be taken by necessary amendments in the various Acts to secure adequate and effective representation of our community in these local bodies, on the communal basis, just as in the Legislative Council.

4. The Hooghly Madrassa is the only institution in the whole of West Bengal, which teaches up to the Matriculation standard according to the new scheme of Madrassa education. Students passing out of the Hooghly Madrassa and desirous of taking up the Islamic Intermediate Course cannot do so in any college of West Bengal and the well-known poverty of this class of students prevents them from going to Dacca. Therefore in the interests of Muhammadan education it is absolutely necessary that provision should be made in the Hooghly Madrassa for teaching up to the Islamic Intermediate Course. But so long as separate buildings are not provided for the Hooghly Madrassa no such improvement or extension is possible.

5. A scheme for the provision of separate and suitable building for the Hooghly Madrassa has been under the consideration of Government for many years, and when Your Excellency's immediate predecessor visited this town in 1920, this fact was brought to his notice in the address presented to him by this Association and His Excellency was pleased to observe that the matter was in hand and a detailed scheme of cost was being worked out: but it is a matter of regret and disappointment to us that nothing whatever has been done in this matter. The location of the Hooghly Madrassa and the Hooghly College in one and the same building is very seriously hampering the much-needed improvements and expansion

of both the institutions. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to take early measures to provide the Hooghly Madrassa with separate and suitable buildings and to introduce in it the teaching of the Islamic Intermediate Course.

6. We venture to submit that although we have still a great leeway to make up, education has of recent years advanced so far among us that now-a-days there is no dearth of qualified Muhammadan candidates for any post in the public services, but in spite of this the lamentable fact remains that the percentage of Muhammadans in the public services is very small compared with the percentage of Muhammadan population of the country. We, therefore, earnestly pray that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to take effective steps to secure 55 per cent. of the posts in all the public services to qualified candidates of our community and thus remove the cause of discontent which undoubtedly exists.

7. In conclusion, we beg leave again to accord Your Excellency our warm and respectful welcome and we pray for Your Excellency's long life, happiness and prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addressés
presented at Chinsura, on 30th June
1924.***

MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS. MEMBERS OF THE
DISTRICT BOARD AND MEMBERS OF THE MANAG-
ING COMMITTEE OF THE HOOGHLY DISTRICT
NATIONAL MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION.

I thank you for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me and I appreciate the sentiments of loyalty to the throne and person of His Majesty, which are expressed in all your addresses.

As you say, this old town is full of historic memories and carries us back to the times when the European nations first sent their adventurous settlers to this country. The banks of this river still bear the relics of the various settlements and your town must be a source of great interest to students of history.

I am glad to learn from your addresses the needs and expectations of those whom you represent. In reply I will endeavour to make known to you the powers of Government in certain respects and the limitations of Government in others to help you towards the attainment of those things which you desire.

Both the Municipality and the District Board place the health of the people committed to their charge in the forefront of their requests, and I shall deal with this subject first.

The Commissioners of the Municipality describe the dilemma in which they are placed by the inadequacy of their water-supply. On the one hand an extension of the supply is urgently necessary, on the other the maximum limit of taxation is felt to have been reached, and an increase in their resources appears to be impossible. Such a dilemma, I fear, is not peculiar to Hooghly. I am told a similar story wherever I go. It is not even confined to India. Municipalities in England are experiencing the same difficulties. I am myself the owner and distributor of the water-supply in my own country district, and I am very intimate with your problem. The remedy you suggest, namely, that the Provincial Government should relieve you of your responsibility and provide you with the necessary funds is not possible, not because Government does not sympathize with your difficulties or with the needs of your people. On the contrary, Government appreciate your desire to furnish your town with a more ample supply and are aware of the financial straits in which you find yourselves largely owing to the very laudable efforts you have made to provide the existing supply. But Government cannot do for you more than they are prepared to do for every other Municipality. It has been our experience in England that shortage of water has driven us to pay special attention to measures for the prevention of waste and I recommend you to explore the possibilities of effecting further economies in this way. Though we cannot assist you with a grant, we can provide you with a loan whenever you are in a position to take one. I suggest that you should examine carefully the

possibility of checking waste by a more sparing grant of house connections or by charging more for excess consumption; and if you can secure a sufficient surplus by such savings or by new revenues to enable you to finance a loan, Government will be glad to have a scheme prepared for the extension of the supply.

The financial difficulties which prevent you from increasing and extending your water-supply also stand in the way of an improvement in the drainage system. Any ambitious scheme is clearly out of the question at present, and the best course would appear to be gradually to take up the construction of main drainage channels for different sections of the town as self-contained schemes in conformity with one general comprehensive plan. Before I can say how far Government can help you in the matter, it would be necessary for us to know what the cost of such a scheme would be and what funds the Municipality itself could provide.

To solve the problem of rural water-supply the District Board tell me that they are utilizing the agency of the Union Boards for making a survey of the district's requirements. This is a 'most practical step, and I congratulate the Board on having taken it. Past experience indicates clearly that with Union Boards lies the chief hope of solving this difficult problem, which has for so long received the anxious attention of Government. Let me remind you that Government have made various offers of assistance from time to time, but none of them have been fully taken advantage of. From 1904 to 1911 Government offered to make

grants-in-aid for this purpose on the basis of one-third of the cost being borne by Government, one-third by the District Board and one-third by private contributions. In very few cases, however, was the Government contribution earned, and the arrangement broke down. From 1911 to 1914 Government dispensed with the condition that one-third should be contributed by the public, yet even so the Government contribution was not claimed in full and very little was done. In 1914, the Public Works cess was made over to the District Boards and the Government contributions ceased. Up to the present day, however, neither with the help of Government contributions nor with the increased revenues which they derived from the Public Works cess and the augmentation grant have the District Boards succeeded in dealing satisfactorily with the problem of rural water-supply. The explanation of this is, I believe, not financial, but administrative. The District Board covers too wide an area to deal with what is essentially a local problem, and I have every hope that Union Boards and Union Committees, if adequately assisted and encouraged, will succeed better in providing good drinking water in the country villages. The Government is prepared to help them as they have offered help to the District Boards in the past, and the Local Self-Government Department are at this moment engaged in framing proposals for the consideration of Government. Your representatives will have an opportunity of discussing this matter further with us at the District Board Conference which opens in Calcutta on Wednesday.

The next subject which figures largely in your addresses is that of education. Your requirements

embracé technical, agricultural and medical education, and you also express concern about the difficulties of providing adequate accommodation for the Collegiate School and the Madrassa. With regard to the Collegiate School, for which the Municipality press for permanent housing in a Government building, I would point out that the school is now secure for the next three years in the rented building which it occupies at present. It is true that the accommodation is not ideal, but it is adequate. We hope to construct a good school building in the comparatively near future and, if in the meantime a suitable Government building becomes available, the claim of the school to it will be sympathetically considered. The need of the Hooghly Madrassa appears to be more urgent, but unfortunately the scheme that was prepared has had to be kept in abeyance for some years past owing to lack of funds. I can assure you, however, that it will be taken up again as soon as the financial situation permits. Indeed, this assurance is superfluous, as you may count upon the Hon'ble Minister, who is himself a Muslim, to keep a jealous watch over the interests of Muslim education. Your representatives in the Legislative Council may also be relied upon to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble Minister your needs in such matters.

The District Board have expressed their disappointment at the abolition of the Agricultural School and put in a plea for its revival. I must remind you, however, that while the school existed it was not utilized for the purpose for which it was intended. The school was meant for the training of

the sons of genuine cultivators to enable them to make better use of their own land. It was not intended for the training of landless men for employment under the Government. As a door leading to nowhere, as a false attraction and an illusory hope, the school did not justify its existence and those for whom it was intended were not forthcoming. It has, therefore, been closed. Government, however, fully appreciate the importance of secondary agricultural education and are prepared to re-open a secondary agricultural school in Western Bengal as soon as there is sufficient evidence that it is required and will be used by those who have land to cultivate.

You suggest that as a step towards the solution of the unemployment problem, Government should establish a technical school at Chinsura. Apart from the debatable question how far this would help to meet the problem, such a proposal is against the accepted policy of Government. In the interests of economy we have decided to decrease rather than increase the number of provincialized schools, as we feel that in this way we can use our limited resources more economically and effectively by distributing grants-in-aid to several schools than by maintaining a few selected schools in particular districts. We are anxious to encourage all District Boards to open technical and industrial schools, as we are convinced that the District Boards can manage them more economically and efficiently. I suggest, therefore, that the Hooghly District Board should take the matter up and formulate a definite scheme and then apply to Government for a grant-in-aid.

Lastly, let me deal with your request for the establishment of a medical school. You complain that the students of this district are no longer admitted to the Campbell Medical School and have great difficulty in securing admission to the Ronaldshay School at Burdwan, which is now the school for this division. You urge, therefore, that a school should be established here. Now as the number of students at the Ronaldshay School is limited to 220, it is inevitable that the number of admissions secured by anyone of the districts served by the school must be comparatively small. But apart from this some more positive claim to the foundation of a school here must obviously be established. You appear to be aware already of the conditions which must be satisfied before such a proposal can be entertained, and you say that the various hospitals in Chinsura together provide the requisite number of beds. I am advised, however, that for various reasons and from the nature of the cases admitted, the two Police Hospitals and the Lady Dufferin Hospital would not be suitable for the instruction of medical students. Therefore, in order to satisfy the conditions which Government have laid down as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a medical school, the Imambará Hospital itself must be enlarged to provide for 100 beds and must be suitably adapted for the purpose of clinical instruction before your proposal can be considered and you should devote your energies towards achieving this. In order to secure a convenient distribution throughout the province, Government are already committed to the establishment of schools at Chittagong, Jalpaiguri and

Berhampore as soon as they are able to satisfy the preliminary conditions, but if you can satisfy those conditions earlier, your claim to priority will be considered.

I will now turn to those questions in your addresses which deal with local self-government.

Both the Municipality and the District Board appear to find themselves in difficulties in the matter of repairing and constructing roads and they both ask for Government assistance to enable them to carry out their programmes. The District Board ask Government to help them in opening up new roads and the Municipality ask for assistance in the maintenance of existing ones. I feel sure that you will readily admit that the improvement of local communications is essentially the concern of the local bodies and that Government cannot single out particular District Boards for the receipt of help without injustice to other districts. If, therefore, you desire assistance it can only be in the form of a loan and not of a grant. We shall, of course, consider any application we may receive from you in this sense. Still less can Government accept responsibility for the repair of local roads, and we should certainly not be justified in the present state of our finances in embarking on the entirely new policy of making grants-in-aid for such a purpose. Moreover, it is an elementary principle that loans should be taken for the execution of capital works, and repairs should normally be met from revenue. I regret, therefore, that we cannot entertain the Municipality's request for assistance in repairing their roads.

The reasons which have hitherto justified the Government's contribution to the cost of the Police in the towns do not apply to the rural districts and to grant your request in this respect would be contrary to the whole tendency of administrative progress which is in the direction of decentralisation rather than centralisation of responsibility and authority. The remedy for your difficulties should be sought rather from Government contributions to special local needs than from the reduction of responsibility for such a definitely local matter as village protection.

With regard to the alleged defects in the Village Self-Government Act, I would remind you that two private Bills, which aimed at removing certain defects, never reached the Select Committee stage. There does not appear to be any necessity, therefore, at the moment for Government, to initiate legislation of this kind. At the same time we are quite prepared to give careful consideration to any proposals designed to bring the Village Self-Government Act into conformity with the amended Village Chaukidari Act.

The District Board also ask that Boards should be empowered to levy cesses on railways and that the Bengal Cess Act should be amended accordingly. We have made representations to the Government of India on this matter, but the proposal has been definitely negatived by them.

This Government attaches the same importance as you do to the Vishnupur-Calcutta Chord Railway, but its construction has long been held up for want of funds, and I fear there is little chance of it being taken up before the year 1926-27.

I must now refer to the important question of irrigation. The District Board has raised the question of the Damodar Canal scheme and allied problems. It is true, as you say, that the canal scheme was sanctioned by the Secretary of State three years ago, but want of funds has prevented us from taking it up as yet. Hitherto the scheme has not been accepted as definitely a productive work. It is now being re-examined in the hope that a small increase in the water-rates may enable it to be classified as productive which will make it easier for us to proceed with it. When the canal is constructed, it will, indeed, be possible to flush the old river beds in this district and to provide a better supply of drinking water; but it will not, as you claim, result in any diminution of the effects of floods in the Damodar, as the amount of water required to feed the canal will be infinitesimal in comparison with the flow in the river during flood time.

The Board further asks that the protective measures recommended in Mr. Addams-Williams' report may be carried into effect as early as possible. The Irrigation Department have already made arrangements to dredge certain *khals* and to make new escapes for the flood water, which will considerably relieve the flooding in the lower portions of this district. Your complaint that the irrigation channels in Dankuni and Rajapur basins are being silted up, is being examined by the department.

As you say, these problems are important, not only from the point of view of floods and health, but also in their bearing on the question of agricultural conditions, and I am glad to hear

that co-operative irrigation societies have been established here. I have already seen in Bankura the valuable work which such societies can accomplish and I trust that their work will be equally beneficial here. Meanwhile I have seen an exhaustive report which the Divisional Commissioner has submitted on the subject, and this is now being examined by Government.

I am glad to hear the assurance of the National Muhammadan Association that they disapprove of the policy of obstruction which resulted in the rejection of certain important grants for the transferred departments. If, as you say, the great bulk of the Muhammadans think, as you do in the matter, I trust that they have conveyed their views to their representatives in the Council, so that when the matter comes up for reconsideration next week, the Muhammadan members of Council may carry out the expressed wishes of those to whom they owe their election.

When the Association goes on to ask that Government should take steps to secure 55 per cent. of the posts in the public services for Muhammadans, I must remind you that the Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council missed an excellent opportunity of advising Government on the subject during the recent session in connection with Khan Bahadur Mushraf Hossain's resolution to which you have referred. As you know, it has been Government's policy to give a minimum of one-third of the appointments in the services to Muhammadans, and, as Sir Hugh Stephenson pointed out in the debate, it was for

the Council to give Government an indication of any change they might desire in the percentage on which Government is to work. This, however, the Council declined to do as they decided by a considerable majority to postpone discussion on the subject *sine die*. As no less than 20 Muhammadans voted with the majority, it is to be inferred that the representatives of your community did not regard the matter as urgent. If, however, you are dissatisfied with their attitude on that occasion, your proper course is to persuade them to bring to a definite conclusion the discussion which they then decided to postpone.

The Commissioners of the Municipality invite my attention to the excellent work being done by the defence parties in this Municipality and they ask that the members of these parties should be empowered to arrest under section 54 of the Criminal Procedure Code and also to possess firearms without payment of any fees. I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating those parties and their promoters on the extraordinary good work that they have done and on the public spirit which prompted them to undertake the task. I regret, however, that it is not possible to grant either of the two requests. Only a police officer can exercise powers under section 54, but if, as I understand, it is your practice to arrange with your authorities that police officers should accompany the parties, this should not create any difficulty.

With regard to the possession of firearms, I am afraid that the rules do not admit of any exemption, and this Government cannot alter the rules.

At the end of their address the District Board make reference to two matters which lie altogether outside their own jurisdiction. I make no complaint of that, and I fully appreciate the circumstances which have induced you to travel beyond the sphere of your own responsibilities.

In the first place, you have asked me to set free or bring to trial in a court of law three inhabitants of this district who have been detained under Regulation III of 1818 as members of a revolutionary conspiracy. Your request can only be based on three possible grounds—

- (1) The first is that you may not believe these gentlemen to be members of a revolutionary conspiracy. In that case I can only assure you that the evidence on which our conclusion is based has been carefully examined by myself in the first instance, by two senior Judges in the second place, and finally by the Viceroy personally, and no one is being detained against whom the evidence has not been sufficient to satisfy all those who have seen it both of the existence of a dangerous revolutionary conspiracy and of the active participation in it of each individual detained. If, therefore, this is the ground of your request, I, who have fuller information and greater responsibility, must beg to disagree with you.
- (2) The second possible ground for your request is that you may believe that the participation in a revolutionary

conspiracy to which I have referred can be established publicly by the usual judicial processes in a court of law. If you think that, I can only say that the whole history of revolutionary crime both in Bengal and in every other country conclusively proves the contrary. Bengal unfortunately has had many years' experience of revolutionary crime, and none but the prejudiced or the ignorant can contend for a moment that the ordinary processes of the law courts are sufficient to deal with it.

- (3) The third and last possible ground on which you can ask for the release of these gentlemen is that knowing of their revolutionary activities you desire to see them free to exercise them and that is a ground which I do not feel called upon to discuss.

At the same time no one is more anxious than I am to remove the causes of this revolutionary movement and the need for its suppression, and I appeal to all patriotic men for help in this direction. Finally, you call my attention to the state of affairs at Tarakeswar and ask that Government will not allow any interference with the religious worship of the deities at that place. Neither at Tarakeswar, nor anywhere else, have the Government ever interfered with the religious worship of any section of the people, and your request for the neutrality of Government is entirely superfluous. Let me in turn remind you of what is taking place

at Tarakeswar. Not for the first time in Indian history a devout but ignorant body of men are allowing themselves to be exploited by interested politicians in the name of religion. What are the facts? The temple there has hitherto been under the management of a *Mohunt* who has been charged with offences that would render him unfit for the discharge of his holy office. His moral character has been impeached, and he has been accused of oppressing the pilgrims and misapplying the temple funds. The *Satyagraha* movement has been started and is being maintained on the entirely false assumption that it is necessary in order to get rid of a *Mohunt* who is alleged to be corrupt, vicious and oppressive, and to purge the temple of the abuses that have accompanied the worship there. I say the assumption is false because before the *Satyagraha* movement started the *Mohunt* had already given place to a high caste Hindu gentleman of unimpeachable character who had been appointed as Receiver—not by Government, but by a Court of Justice—to take charge of the temple and its worship. No, gentlemen, the present situation at Tarakeswar is a colossal hoax which is being practised by a number of unscrupulous politicians upon a credulous section of the Hindu community. The real object of the *Satyagraha* movement is not to purge the temple of abuses, but to bring odium on the Government by falsely representing them as the protectors and upholders of a corrupt *Mohunt*. Government is in fact merely a regretful spectator of a political manoeuvre in which the politicians alone are the gainers, and the pilgrims and worshippers at Tarakeswar

are the dupes. The remedy for such a situation is not in our hands, but if the Hindu community wish to purge the worship at the temple from being exploited for selfish purposes either by a *Mohunt* on the one hand, or by politicians on the other, it is open to them to move the Court to appoint a Receiver for the whole property including the house of the *Mohunt* which is now the objective of a daily assault by the *satyagrahis*, and then either by negotiation or legal processes to secure an honest and efficient administration of the temple and its endowments.

Gentlemen, I apologise for the length of my reply, but you have raised in your addresses so many matters of local or general interest that I could do no justice to them in a smaller compass. I thank you once more for your kind expressions of welcome, and I am glad of this opportunity of becoming more nearly acquainted with the needs and interests of your district.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening
of the District Board Conference, on
2nd July 1924.***

MR. GHUZNAVI AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me much pleasure to welcome you here again and once more to open the deliberations of the District Board Conference. As I said on the last occasion, I attach very great importance to these conferences, not only because they enable Government to obtain the advice of the representatives of the various District Boards—and who should be more competent to give advice on matters, such as water-supply, public health and so on, for which they have been made directly responsible—but also because it gives those representatives themselves an opportunity of discussing with one another the problems which are common to them all.

The proceedings of these conferences are carefully recorded and reference is made to their findings and the arguments on which those findings are based before Government comes to any decision on the various matters discussed. Since I opened the last conference in March 1923, I have visited many more districts and learnt from the District Boards the various problems with which they are faced. The majority of such problems are naturally common to all of them, but different aspects are emphasized in different districts and they have been represented to me from various points of view. What, perhaps, I have valued more than

anything else on these visits has been the opportunity that they have afforded me of discussing matters personally with the Chairmen of the District Boards and other leading gentlemen of the localities and learning from them at first hand all about their district—its special features, its activities, its interests, its needs and its difficulties. In this way I have learnt a great deal during the last 15 months about the conditions and problems of the mufassal and this has helped me much in my work. The value of those tours can only be appreciated by those who will remember how necessary it is for a Governor who is obliged to live at the centre to become acquainted at first hand with local conditions throughout the province. They also have a value in enabling the Governor to explain to the local bodies what are the functions of the Central Government and what are the limits within which it is possible for it to assist local needs. These are facts which are not always understood by the local governing bodies.

You, gentlemen, for instance, when I visit your districts separately, are inclined to include in your addresses requests for assistance which it would clearly be impossible for any Central Provincial Government to grant if they were made simultaneously by all the districts, and the continual refusal of such requests which I am obliged to make in reply may seem to indicate a want of sympathy with your difficulties which is certainly not justified. That is why I specially value these conferences of representatives of all the districts when the problems of administration can be discussed with more advantage and the co-operation

of the Provincial Government and local authorities can be most effectively secured. The Local Self-Government Department is at this moment preparing a memorandum dealing with the relations between the Provincial Government and the local authorities in connection with the single problem of rural water-supply, and I am asking them to extend this, so as to include also an explanation of their respective duties and responsibilities in regard to other matters the conditions which must be satisfied before Government assistance can be invoked, the nature of the assistance which can be given, the agencies through which loans or subsidies can be disbursed, and the basis and relative proportions of such contributions. When this memorandum is in your hands, I feel sure that you will find it of great assistance in making the position clearer than it is at present.

Now let me turn to some of the very important subjects which you propose to discuss in your present conference.

The first item on the agenda is the question of rural water-supply. This, as I have said on former occasions, is the most vital problem with which the District Boards have to deal. It concerns not merely the comfort, but the very lives of the rural population; the lack of good water is the root cause of much epidemic disease, and the provision and maintenance of it would greatly help the solution of many other problems. This is a problem which ought not to be insoluble. Bengal is not a waterless desert; plenty of pure water falls from the skies every year, plenty of pure water flows beneath the soil throughout the province. All

that is required is to make this water accessible throughout the year and above all to preserve it from pollution. To do this is clearly not within the power of Government alone. No Government, however composed, could possibly supply every village in Bengal with water and keep it pure—but there is no reason why, if properly assisted, every village should not provide itself with water and become responsible for keeping it unpolluted. It is not merely a question of money, though, of course, a heavy expenditure of money is involved—it is partly an engineering problem, partly an administrative problem, and partly an educational problem. Experience has shown, as I explained at Chinsura two days ago, that even District Boards are too large administrative units to solve the problem, however liberally they may be assisted by Government. What is wanted is the co-operation of even smaller bodies, the organization in fact of the villages themselves. Let me further emphasize my argument by putting it in the form of a parable. Even a strong man cannot break a bundle of sticks if they remain united, yet a mere child can break each stick if taken separately. This scarcity of good water in the rural districts is a great obstacle in the path of our progress towards prosperity. That obstacle has got to be removed. But it is composed of a large number of separate units combined together like a gigantic bundle of sticks. First you ask the Government to destroy this obstacle to break up this great bundle and the Government has to reply “we cannot do it; if we were ten times as strong as we are still we should not be strong enough.” Then the Government says to the District Boards: “You destroy it,

we will help you to break it up" and the District Boards have had to reply—"We also are not strong enough, even the smaller bundles which you have assigned to us are too powerful for us to break." Let us then go together to the villages themselves, to the Union Boards, mere children as it were as governing bodies compared to ourselves, and let us distribute among them stick by stick all the component parts of this great bundle, and we shall find that they will break them with ease. So will the obstacle be removed, the problem solved. Money will be wanted, we are prepared to contribute a share from provincial revenues and you will have to contribute a share from district funds, expert advice will be needed, we will help to provide it, and lastly—this is an essential condition of success—the villagers themselves must provide labour and above all must learn to protect their local supplies. On these lines much may be done in a short time, and I commend the matter to your earnest consideration.

The second item is one that did not appear in last year's agenda and it is at my own instance that it is included this year. As you will see from the note which has been circulated, the principle on which the augmentation grant has been distributed in the past, has formed the subject of considerable discussion, and those smaller districts where the local taxation is comparatively light have been consistently pressing for a revision of the basis on which the distribution is made. My discussions with the residents of those smaller districts, which suffered from this system, raised doubts in my mind as to its equity and its practical results. Although I have been obliged in replying to some of the

addresses that have been presented to me to refuse the requests for a redistribution of the augmentation grant, I have not been wholly satisfied with the arguments I have used. I, therefore, requested the Minister to look into the matter. This, I think, is a good illustration of the value of my tours in the districts, as it shows how local representations on such occasions may lead to a reconsideration of settled policy. The note which has been circulated to you all gives a very able exposition of the arguments for and against the existing principle and also suggests an alternative. What I do consider wrong is that some of the larger Boards should receive grants which they are unable to spend with profit, whereas others are crying out for money to enable them to meet pressing needs. I recognize the advantages of the existing system and the objections to the alternatives proposed, but at the same time I do feel that it would be of immense value if the Commissioner had at his disposal a fund which he could use at his discretion for helping the District Boards which were from time to time most in need of assistance. A comparatively large sum in any one year would in many cases be of far greater value than the equivalent amount spread over several years, and I suggest, therefore, for your consideration, that it might be possible to combine the present system with that which is in force in Bihar and Orissa, that is to say, distribute a fixed proportion of the grant, say, 50 per cent. on the present rateable basis and allot the remainder according to the needs of each division, leaving it to the Commissioner to distribute the amount among the districts. I merely offer this as

a suggestion and I know that the Hon'ble Minister will be glad to hear your views upon it.

Other important matters which you will discuss will be the strategy of a campaign against *Kala-azar* and Malaria, the two great scourges of Bengal. It appears unfortunately to be an established fact that *Kala-azar* is on the increase in this province, and Government has shown its recognition of the dangers of the situation by giving increased grants to District Boards for the campaign against it. We have sent round special officers to initiate the campaign, but this is as much as we can do and we have to leave it to the Boards themselves to carry on the campaign, once we have shown them the way. What we now particularly want is the advice of those who have themselves experienced the difficulties as to the best means of co-ordinating our efforts and preventing wastage.

Similarly with anti-malarial measure. You will have read of the valuable work done by the Central Co-operative Anti-malarial Society and other voluntary agencies, and I feel that in the extension of such societies lies our best chance of combating the disease.

Well, gentlemen, I do not think I need say any more; you have a long and interesting programme before you and I shall now leave you to your deliberations which, I hope, may produce results that will be helpful to us all.

***His Exoellehoy's Speech at the opening of
the Agrloulatural and Co-operative Con-
ference, on 4th July 1924.***

MR. GHUZNAVI AND GENTLEMEN,

Many of those present here to-day have, I presume, been taking part in the District Board Conference, which has been sitting the last two days. It will be unnecessary, therefore, for me to repeat what I said, when opening that conference, on the importance of such meetings as these. It is, I believe, two years since a conference was held by this department and you will, therefore, have many important matters to discuss, and I hope much progress to report. Indeed, I fear, that many of you—including the Minister himself—are being worked very hard this week.

This department, which is now under the Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi's charge, is popularly known as one of the nation-building departments. The respective functions of the departments that are thus named may, perhaps, be described in this way—one group, namely, the Medical, Public Health and Local Self-Government Departments are occupied as we have been reminded during the last two days with the health of the people. Another group, namely, those departments which are represented here to-day—Agriculture, Industries, Veterinary and Co-operation—are concerned rather with the wealth of the people. The last department, namely, that of Education lays the foundation without which neither of the other two would really be possible. It is occupied in fact with the people

themselves and their training in the preservation of both health and wealth.

I trust that the conference, which has been sitting during the past two days, may have made a substantial contribution towards improving the health conditions of the province, and I hope that this conference will also be able to help us to improve its economic and material conditions. You will not, of course, accomplish much in a single sitting. Improvement in such matters must necessarily be gradual, perhaps almost imperceptible at first, but it is the initiation of beneficial measures that is all-important, the laying of solid foundations on which future generations may confidently and successfully erect the superstructure.

I do not propose to dwell in detail on the importance of the four departments whose activities are included in to-day's conference or on their interdependence. I dealt with this aspect when opening the conference two years ago; but it is significant that it is of only comparatively recent date that the public or Government have attached to these subjects the value which they deserve. This is evidenced, so far as Government is concerned—and Government in such matters reflects the general trend of public opinion—by the fact that it was only three years ago that a separate department of Agriculture and Industries was created. Previous to that the various functions which it now fulfils were included in the sphere of other departments merely as a matter of convenience, because those other departments were considered to have less work to do than the others.

Now, however, they are viewed in their proper perspective, they have shown their capacity for creating wealth and have thus made themselves welcome partners in the business of Government.

In this process of increasing wealth which I have described, I should like to indicate what in my opinion are the functions of a Government department. They are in the main three—research, demonstration and education. The first of these necessitates a central Government farm for experiments in scientific farming, and laboratories for advanced research. This function is now being fulfilled by the Government farm at Dacca and by the cattle farm at Rangpur, and though our research staff is very small, it has already produced in a short time most valuable results in the improvement of seeds and the breed of cattle. The next requirement is the practical testing in different parts of the province of the results of the research experiments and the successful demonstration to the cultivators of the value of the improved seeds or methods of cultivation. For this purpose it would be necessary ultimately to have at least one well-equipped farm in every district. In this matter progress must necessarily be slow and we are handicapped at present by the dearth of well-trained men. It is worse than useless to multiply farms until you can supply them with a trained staff, as the cultivators are not likely to have much respect for men in the employment of Government who cannot show better results than themselves.

This brings me to the last function of the department—namely, education—the training of men for

demonstration work on Government farms or as instructors in schools designed to teach the sons of cultivators how they may improve their own holdings. It is here, I think, that we are most deficient at present. What is chiefly needed is, I suggest, an agricultural institute at Dacca in close touch with the Government farm there, but in this matter we shall welcome your suggestions and assistance.

Having sketched out what appear to me to be the main duties and functions of a Government department, let me refer briefly to some of the subjects which you propose to discuss. They cover a very wide range, and I have no doubt that most of you have made a speciality of one branch or another; and yet they are so interdependent that no one subject can really be divorced from the rest, each must be discussed in its relations to the other cognate interests.

In my tours the claims of the people for agricultural education, for industrial and technical schools, and for agricultural farms have been severally urged upon me, and wherever such institutions already existed I have made a point of visiting them and seeing at first hand the work they are doing. We desire to see these institutions increased and developed, but as I have pointed out progress in such a matter must be conditioned by the provision of a trained staff. In the meanwhile the organization of Agricultural Associations would go some way towards securing the desired result; as by this means it will be possible to bring the cultivators into touch with the scientific work of the Agricultural Department, and by demonstrating the advantages of improved methods to induce them

to adopt them on their own holdings. I have seen some of the results of such organizations in Western Bengal, and I was much impressed with their possibilities.

I am interested to see that two of the resolutions recommend to Government that the commercial aspect of farming should be demonstrated and that it should be shown that farming, whether on a small or a large scale, can be made to pay. The former, I presume, needs no demonstration, as the greater part of the population of Bengal depends on agriculture for its livelihood; but it would certainly be interesting to see how far large scale farming can be made to pay. I believe that experiments have already been made in certain parts of the Sundarbans and farming forms the basis of various schemes for the solution of the unemployment problem among the middle classes; I have no doubt that this conference will be able to give Government useful advice on this subject.

Another important problem on which your advice will be of value is that of improving the breed of cattle. I was at Rangpur in March and saw the cattle farm there, where important progress has been made in evolving the best breed of cow for milking purposes, and I imagine that where your advice will be most welcome will be in showing on what lines the results of these experiments can be brought to the knowledge of the farming population.

I notice that the Co-operative Department have tabled one very important resolution, that, namely, which recommends the development of special forms of co-operative societies. Until quite a few

years ago the idea appeared to be prevalent in India that the co-operative principle could be or need be applied only to credit; but with a greater understanding of the system and the principles underlying it, people have come to realize that it can be extended to other activities, such as irrigation, weaving, distribution and so on. From what I myself saw of the work of the irrigation societies in Bankura and Birbhum districts I can sympathize with your desire to increase the staff of those who can advise and direct your efforts, and I have no doubt that the resolution on this subject will be carried in spite of the fact that the Retrenchment Committee recently recommended not an increase, but a reduction, in the number of these officials.

In the Industries Department you have four resolutions down for discussion. One of these invites Government's attention to the need of assisting minor industries. The Hon'ble Minister has under consideration the introduction of a Bill to effect this object, but one difficulty will be to decide which industries require assistance and the nature and extent of such assistance, and upon this point your suggestions will be welcomed. Another resolution emphasizes the importance of research as an aid to industrial development. I mentioned this matter at the conference two years ago, and I may repeat that in industries, as in agriculture, the first function of a Government Department must be to undertake research and experimental work and to place the results at the disposal of the public. I understand that the Director of Industries proposes the establishment of a Board for co-ordinating the efforts of the various scientific departments

and for utilizing to the best advantage such facilities and expert knowledge as are available in the province.

I have touched quite briefly upon some of the matters which you will discuss. I have no doubt that most of these resolutions will be carried, but I trust that you will do more than merely pass resolutions in favour of expenditure by Government. I notice that almost everyone of your resolutions would involve very heavy additional expenditure, and it would be impossible to give effect to them all. I hope, therefore, that in discussing these resolutions you will keep this very practical aspect of the question in mind and indicate what in your opinion are their relative importance, so that they may be taken up in the most useful order of priority as and when funds are available.

With these words, I declare the conference open and surrender the Chair to the Hon'ble Minister. I wish you all success in your deliberations.

His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, on 5th July 1924.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is customary at this our annual Convocation for the Vice-Chancellor to review the work of the preceding academic year and to report on the progress of the University during that period. This year that programme must unhappily be modified. Your Vice-Chancellor, owing to ill-health, cannot be with us to-day and though I have been able to perform the duty of administering the degrees which he has been accustomed to undertake in the past, yet I cannot hope, and for various reasons shall not attempt, to replace him in other respects and to give that *resume* of the University's achievements during the year to which Vice-Chancellors have in past years accustomed us. But there is one feature of the customary Vice-Chancellor's speech which I cannot and must not pass by—I must preface my remarks by a reference to those colleagues and fellow-workers whom death has taken from our midst during the past year. This year in particular the sense of loss is necessarily uppermost in our minds—to the exclusion almost of every other consideration.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was a member of the Senate of the University for many years in the first decade of the century and recently after a long absence from that body resumed his connection in 1921. He was one of those many prominent men

whom Presidency College has given to the public life of Bengal. Though Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri made his mark more as a lawyer and a politician, he was a bold thinker and originator in matters educational whom our University can ill afford to lose, and his death has left us the poorer.

The next loss to which I must refer is one which is shared both by the Government and the University. Dr. Theodore Oliver Douglas Dunn was a scholar whose literary abilities had been recently recognized by his own University of Glasgow and whose administrative capacity had but one short month before his tragic death been recognized by the Government of Bengal in his appointment to the highest educational post within its disposal. His death at a time when both the University and the Government of Bengal need all the trained educational knowledge and ability at their disposal to aid them in their common task of securing the future of the University was a real loss to the province in general and to the University in particular.

By the death of these two men many of us have lost personal friends whom we shall not easily forget, but their places will be taken by others and their work will be carried on. There is one loss, however—the most recent—which dominates our minds to-day, one place in the University left vacant by death which no one else can ever fill—the work of one man terminated which no other single man can carry on. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, five times Vice-Chancellor, he who to the student and the general public represented—nay, *was*—the University, is no longer with us, and these walls.

which have so often echoed to his eloquent Convocation speeches, will never hear again his resounding and masterful voice. His death has created a feeling akin to consternation for it is not merely an important piece of the structure of the University which has fallen out, it is as if the whole structure itself had collapsed.

I shall not attempt to perform again that duty which the Senate of the University carried out under my presidency in June last on behalf of the whole body of the University and its students. On that occasion I paid my personal tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and the Senate placed on record in dignified and fitting language its deep appreciation of his devoted work for this University. That tribute is doubtless well known to you since it was reported very fully in the Press. Less well known to you, perhaps, is the tribute which his colleagues in the Syndicate paid to him. It sums up what those who worked with him week by week on the administrative body of the University thought of their leader. It was a finely expressed tribute, worthy of Sir Asutosh, and I should like to quote it as nothing can better express the admiration which his colleagues felt for him and the dismay with which they contemplate the future without him.

“We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an advisory

member of the Syndicate, he had been intimately associated with its work since 1889. For 35 years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of his colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades, which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius, but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers

which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland."

These words, I feel sure, express the sentiments of the whole of Bengal and I can say nothing which would add to their eloquence or their sincerity.

I must next express my deep regret that our Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, is unable to be present at this Convocation. I wish also to express my personal indebtedness to him for the courage, public spirit and unselfish disregard of his own comfort which induced him and at a time when he was burdened with domestic sorrows and handicapped by indifferent health to take on the arduous duties of the office of Vice-Chancellor instead of enjoying that peace and comfort in retirement to which his age and his long record of public service entitled him. He assumed the office at a particularly difficult moment and in the 15 months that he has held it he has by his tact and wisdom won the affectionate regard of all his colleagues. We all deplore his absence to-day. Had his health permitted him to be present I feel sure he would have indicated to us, in the clearest possible language, his views on the needs of our University and the measures necessary to secure for it a future at once dignified, free from financial worry, and beneficial to the cultural and political life of Bengal. In his absence I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the many problems, financial, educational and administrative, which are facing the University. The future is not

very clear and, in the absence of a controlling hand is likely to become yet more obscure. But I can and must make one statement, specific and unequivocal. In both the capacities in which I have relations with you, whether as your Chancellor or as Governor of the province, I have one desire and one desire only—to assist you to extricate yourselves from your difficulties as soon as possible, to establish and maintain friendly relations between the University and the Government, and to broaden your financial stability on the foundation of a reciprocal understanding which shall have its roots in mutual trust and be free from any suspicion of restraint or domination. As regards the deficit disclosed in your last budget, we are pledged to its liquidation. That pledge we shall honour in due course and the only reason why no provision for this purpose has yet been made in this year's budget is because we are still awaiting that detailed statement of your liabilities for which we have asked to enable us to determine the exact amount of the assistance you require. Do not let any one suggest that the Government of Bengal cannot afford to support its Universities or that it has any wish to curtail their academic freedom as the price of its assistance. There is no foundation for either suggestion. With good will and mutual confidence let us unite in the common task of ensuring the future of Calcutta University both as an examining body, and as a home of advanced learning and research.

In the latter capacity the University has in the last year received a valuable recognition. Let me take this opportunity of congratulating you on the

Fellowship of the Royal Society which has added lustre to the name of Professor Raman and incidentally to that of the University. I recognize with pleasure and admiration the large volume of research work which the Post-Graduate Department is in its various departments constantly publishing. For the moment, however, I feel that the main work to be done in connection with the research and advanced teaching of the University is consolidation. We must make sure of our gains with a view to further advance later on. Its financial basis is unsound. We must stabilise it. I have already made the suggestion that the truest memorial to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's name—the one which he would most have preferred—would be an endowment raised for this department as a tribute to his memory. In this task Government will not shirk its share. But I think that in the uncertain problems of the future Sir Asutosh would have preferred to see his beloved University Post-Graduate Department placed as far beyond the reach of Government's influence as possible by being independently endowed. On this point Bengal will in due course indicate its wishes by the response which it makes to any appeal the Senate's Committee may issue. If the Post-Graduate Department becomes firmly established and endowed, as I hope it soon may, then it will be easier for us to concentrate our attention upon those problems of the University which centre round the colleges. The University's advanced work is as it were the flower and fruit which grows on the topmost branches of the tree. But we must not neglect the condition of the trunk and the

root. Let us beware lest we seek to grow fruit on a tree whose trunk is barked and whose roots are dry. You may water the topmost branches as much as you like, but in that case nothing will grow. So I would make to you all the double appeal. Let us co-operate in consolidating the position gained for advanced studies by the University under the guidance of Sir Asutosh, and let us remember that an essential corollary of that work of consolidation must be a careful examination and strengthening of the supports on which that advanced position is based. In that great task money will also be required and Government will do its share; but money alone will not be sufficient. If we are to succeed we must put aside all other considerations than that of the welfare of the students for whom we are responsible, and with single minds and united efforts resolve to be satisfied with nothing less than the best which it is in our power to give them.

To those students let me now say a few words of congratulation and encouragement. To-day the University formally sets its seal on the work which last year it accomplished on behalf of the hundreds of young men and women who have to-day received their certificates, and of those other hundreds who are unable to be present to receive them. At Oxford and Cambridge we should say that the University sends them forth to serve God in Church and State, and certifies them to be fit for such service. For some of you, I trust, there is in store a brilliant career leading to high opportunities of service to your country. For others, there will be, perhaps, but a humble *niche* and a limited sphere of

work. I am aware that in present conditions the minds of most of you must be dominated by the fear that in the crowded state of the market to-day you may fail to secure scope for your energies commensurate with your abilities. I congratulate you on your success and I sympathize with your anxieties. But to all of you I would say, whatever your future may be, whether you are destined to be great or humble, remember that you begin life in debt, and that it is your duty no less than your privilege to repay that debt. That is, perhaps, a new and startling thought to you. I am not referring to the state of your purses nor to your banking accounts. I am not referring either to the latest budget of the University! What I mean is this. For some 15 or 20 years your country has, through various agencies—the school, the college, the University—spent on the task of educating you to an advanced standard money which it badly needs for primary education and other work among the masses of the country. You received your education under the auspices of this University at monthly fees varying in amount, but in all cases low owing to the fact that the community has, either through public or private agencies, contributed towards keeping down the cost. Was it worth it? Has the community or the State made a good or a bad bargain in turning you into graduates with money which might have helped to maintain a primary school and spread literacy in the villages? It is for you in the years to come to provide the answer to that question. 'Are you going to pay back in unpaid social service the debt which you have contracted to your country? Bengal is crying out for men who can

serve her in various ways. For instance, no one who leaves this hall to-day ought to rest content if, when he takes up his future work, he finds that the area in which he lives is insufficiently provided with either the necessities of life or those minor comforts by which the standard of living among the masses may be raised.

If you do nothing else you will at least each one of you contribute to the formation of the public opinion in the centre in which you live. Your education has taught you, it is to be hoped, to think for yourselves, and not to be led away by every wind of political or social emotion. By passing on to other less fortunate than yourselves in places remote from the culture available in a University, that wider outlook which the University should have given you, if it has not failed in its duty towards you, you can repay some of that debt which you have contracted by your years of study in the colleges affiliated to this University.

I see before me many young men and women who are on the threshold of life and whom it has been my pleasant privilege to crown to-day with the rewards of their years of study. The thought uppermost in my mind is how vast are the opportunities for service which await them in this country—above all how great are the opportunities that await the *women* graduates for they can carry the fruits of their education into homes which can be reached in no other way. So long as the light from the lamp of learning is stopped by the *purdah* and does not penetrate to those who shelter behind its veil the task of educating a nation cannot be said to have even begun. This vision of the benefits

which you can confer upon your countrymen by the gifts of learning that you have acquired, fills my mind and suggests the message which I leave with you to-day. I do not presume to offer you advice. Advice, as I have said elsewhere, is easy to give and easy to forget. I do but remind you that the hall-mark of the University which you are receiving to-day carries with it duties and responsibilities as well as privileges—responsibilities which you cannot escape, duties which you cannot ignore without being branded with that kind of dishonour which attaches to the man who can, but does not pay his lawful debts. Never in the world's history was a country in such need of honest unselfish workers—social, medical, educational, political—as is Bengal to-day. In the hope and in the belief that you will do your share, I wish you all godspeed in the life that lies before you.

And to the Administrators, Professors and Lecturers of the University and its affiliated colleges, I would say: Are you doing your duty by these young men and women whom you annually certify to have passed the tests which you impose upon them? These young people are going out, as their predecessors have gone before them, to live in various parts of Bengal, and to be wherever they may be found living, examples of what Calcutta University does for its students. Have you merely sharpened their memories and filled their minds with the ideas of other thinkers or are you sending them out sound thinkers themselves competent to assist in the formation of wise views of life and conduct in the area to which they go? Are they well equipped with an outlook which will enable

them to find happiness and to be reasonably content in whatever surroundings it may please God to place them? Have you let them meet each other for the first and only time in the examination hall or have you so mingled them together in all the activities of their University that caste and creed present no barrier to social, intellectual and political friendship? Have you interested them in life and equipped them with a high conception of the meaning of intellectual enjoyment? Have you taught them so to understand the past that they can walk confidently among the problems of the present and march boldly towards the future? Have you taught them to co-operate with their fellows for the general good or merely to quarrel with them? Have you sent them forth with straight backs, confident self-reliance and clear vision? In short, have you prepared them for life or only for the desk?

I ask these questions, but I do not answer them. It is for you, their leaders and teachers, to examine yourselves, frequently and carefully, asking yourselves these very necessary questions, and if an honest answer has to admit defects in the preparation for life which you have been able to give to those entrusted to your care, I would urge you to set yourselves conscientiously and fearlessly to work to remove these defects. As man does not live by bread alone, so too a University should not live by learning alone, but by every activity affecting the training of the human mind and spirit which can be done in its name. Annually we certify that a young man knows so much History or Physics or Mathematics or Economics. That is a written

certificate referring only to written work. But in the ideal University that which is unwritten is as important as that which is written. Let us so watch ourselves, let us so meticulously review and improve our work, let us so constantly aim at the highest ideal of University life that the written certificate should carry with it an unwritten one which the world will accept and honour: and if we do not fail in our duty, that unwritten parchment should testify that throughout the period of his connection with the University the student has been in contact with agencies and influences designed to train to their highest possible capacity his spiritual, intellectual, physical and moral qualities. Then will you be able to say and the outside world will agree with you that if your student has failed to become a good comrade, a rational level-headed thinker, a healthy and methodical worker and a good citizen, the fault lies in the man himself and not in the system which produced him. When you can conscientiously assert that of your failures then you may claim to have fulfilled your mission and to be satisfied with your University. Till then I claim your co-operation in the task which lies before us and your vigilant unremitting attention to any shortcomings which, judged by such a standard you may find in the system which you administer.

His Excellency's Speech at the Vigilance Association Meeting, on 7th July 1924.

MY LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

There are several distinguished and eloquent speakers who will address you this evening and I shall not, therefore, occupy your time with more than a very few words from the chair. In what I have to say I have but two objects, the first is to explain to you the object of this meeting, and the second is to associate myself with the appeal for funds which will be addressed to you by the subsequent speakers.

This meeting has been called in order to make known to you a condition of affairs in this great city of Calcutta in which we all live which is probably not known to many and which, if it were known to all, would not be tolerated for a year. The actual facts are set out in the special appeal, copies of which will be found in your places. You will see from that appeal that from 1,600 to 2,000 girls—children I might say—of from 9 to 13 years of age, are being kept in Calcutta for immoral purposes. Two thousand miserable little slaves sold helplessly, unwillingly, unknowingly to a life of degradation and misery. Now the first thing I have to ask you is, did you know that? Probably not, I cannot believe that any decent, honest, chivalrous, kind-hearted man or woman could know that appalling fact and be indifferent to it? My next question is now that you do know it, will you help to put an end to such a condition? I cannot

conceive that any of you will say "no"—because that would be making yourselves responsible for it.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know what sort of fairy stories, legends or ballads Indian children are told, but in my country we were told as children tales of knights who slew fierce dragons and rescued lovely maidens, we were told of witches and demons and wicked people who persecuted the ignorant, the feeble and the helpless, and of brave heroes who came to the rescue and snatched their victims from the clutches of these workers of evil. I have no doubt that you have in India legends of the same kind and that by means of them you seek to inspire in your children a feeling of chivalry, of sympathy with the weak and the suffering, of hatred for oppression. Could you go home from this meeting and say to your children or your grand-children—I have been told to-night a story of oppression that is taking place in this very city of Calcutta at this very moment and I took the side of the oppressor. I have been told of a hideous evil by some good people who wanted to remove it and I sided with the evil rather than with the good. I was shown a dragon that was devouring 2,000 young Indian girls every year and I was offered a sword with which I could kill it, but I threw away the sword and I left the dragon to continue his feast? No, ladies and gentlemen, you could not do that. Now that you know the facts which are being revealed to you to-night you cannot refuse to help or you would never be able to look a child in the face again. What you will probably say is—I should like to help, but I do not know how to. Well, that is what this

meeting has been called to show you. The papers in your seats and the speeches you will hear will tell you not only what the evil is, but also how with your help it can be removed.

In the first place, the facts I have just mentioned are no new discovery—they have been known for many years and several stalwart and chivalrous champions have been preparing their plans to provide a remedy. Until last year the law itself was found defective, but the Calcutta suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, which was passed last year, has remedied that defect and has conferred upon the police the necessary powers of removing these unfortunate minor girls from their surroundings. The police are willing, the law allows, “then what more,” you may ask, “is required”? The answer is there is no home to which these girls can be taken, in which they can be lodged, until such time as situations, employment or permanent homes can be found for them. This then is the task that the Calcutta Vigilance Association—an admirable body too little supported, I fear, as yet, have set themselves—the provision of a Rescue Home—and towards the carrying out of which they earnestly solicit the help of all public-minded citizens of Calcutta. To make the Act operative and supply the necessary clearing house, it is estimated that one lakh of rupees will be required. Those who will follow me will supply you with further particulars and add weight to the appeal.

I have now fulfilled my first object which was, to explain the purpose of the meeting. My second, I said, was to associate myself with the appeal. But is that necessary after what I have already said?

Can any one doubt where my sympathy would be in such a movement? Ladies and gentlemen, I have children of my own, children who are very dear to me, and the thought that one of them might have been kidnapped and sold into the hideous slavery which is now the fate of these 2,000 young girls makes me shiver with horror: not only that—it makes me burn with indignation and wild with impatience to come to the rescue without a moment's delay.

I have only one more word to say, that is to express to you Lady Lytton's great regret that she has been prevented by the slight, and I hope temporary, illness of our daughter from attending this meeting. She is in sympathy heart and soul with its object. If it were possible she would feel even more impatient than I do to supply the remedy and she has asked me to assure Mrs. Stanley and her fellow-workers that they may count on her at all times to do whatever lies in her power to help them.

Ladies and gentlemen, once more I put before you the alternatives between which you are invited to choose. On the one hand this monstrous soul-devouring dragon, on the other, its 2,000 helpless little victims, and those who have constituted themselves their champions. You cannot hesitate for a moment. Let there be no delay. Let this single meeting decide the issue.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Sheriff's
Meeting of condolence on death of
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, on 11th July
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta has been summoned to enable them to record their sorrow at the loss which they have suffered in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man of outstanding ability who had distinguished himself in many branches of public life and who at the time of his death was the most outstanding personality in Bengal.

I have already on two previous occasions paid my tribute to Sir Asutosh's work in connection with Calcutta University and I have also expressed my own opinion as to the most fitting memorial to his memory. I need not, therefore, repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on those subjects. But besides being a great Vice-Chancellor and the creator of the teaching branch of Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was distinguished in many other ways, and it is of some of these that I wish to speak on this occasion.

If evidence were needed of his outstanding abilities, the tremendous vigour and versatility of his mind and of the great respect in which he was held, it could be found in the numerous meetings of condolence which have been held all over the

country by countless societies and bodies of many of which he was an active member or patron. Those societies and bodies dwelt mainly upon the aspects of their great leader and inspirer with which they were primarily concerned. To-day we are concerned with them all, and there are speakers on this platform who knew him in different capacities and who can testify to his ability on all of them.

As he was such a conspicuous figure in public life, we are apt to forget that his scholastic attainments were very considerable and he had a most distinguished University career. I need not recite the various academic distinctions which he gained in whatever subject he took up—Mathematics, Science or Law; he began his career as a Mathematician and, in spite of his other absorbing cares, he maintained to the last his special interest in this subject in which he was pre-eminent. If he was a scholar in the restricted sense of the word, far more was he a scholar in the wider deeper sense—a lover of knowledge and research. As “Advancement of Learning” was the motto of his University, so was it his own watchword, it was his guiding star through life, whatever contributed to the sum of man’s knowledge—to the advancement of learning—was to him good and so it was that he confined himself to no one subject, no narrow school of thought, but insisted on the necessity of making contact with intellectual progress throughout the world. Thus it was, too, that he associated himself so actively and so intimately with learned societies which had for their object

the promotion of knowledge; his connection with them was not merely a paper one, but he took a keen and personal interest in their affairs and management, and identified himself absolutely with their objects. It will be sufficient to mention here the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member for 38 years and four times President, and various Sanskrit congresses and conferences in the conduct of which he took a leading part.

His abilities as a lawyer soon brought him to the front rank of that profession. He was appointed a Judge of the High Court at the age of 43 and he occupied this post for 20 years; here also, as in his other activities, he established a reputation for brilliance and profound learning.

In spite of the manifold calls upon his time which his varied interest involved, he still found the leisure and the will to participate in politics before his promotion to the High Court Bench and he was a member of the Bengal or Indian Legislative Council for six years. Had he been spared he would no doubt have resumed his activities in this direction after his retirement from the Bench. If he had done so, he would soon have attained a commanding position, for he was marked out for leadership in any sphere.

Gentlemen, much could be said in appreciation of Sir Asutosh in all these capacities, but his great qualities, his great personality, his independence of character are so well known to all that it is unnecessary for me to dwell on them longer. The other speakers who follow will, I have no doubt,

emphasize the different aspects of his character, and the resolutions which are to be proposed will give expression to the feeling of respect and admiration in which Calcutta held him. In conclusion, I will only say how glad I am, as the Governor of the province, to have an opportunity of associating myself with his fellow-countrymen in paying tribute to his memory.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Sanads at the Durbar at Dacca, on
4th August 1924.***

NAWAB SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI BAHADUR,

It has never before been my pleasant privilege to deliver the *sanad* of a title to anyone who has been so closely associated with me in the actual work of administration as you have been, and I am glad to have this opportunity in the presence of your peers and fellow-countrymen of thanking you publicly for the loyal help which you gave to me personally and of paying a tribute to the service which you rendered to your country at a most important epoch in its history.

You have long been an outstanding figure in the public life of Bengal and your community has always regarded you as one of their most trusted leaders. It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that you should have been appointed the first Muhammadan Minister of Bengal. In this capacity you strove zealously and conscientiously to promote the interests of the departments committed to your charge. You faced, without fear or discouragement, the abuse and opposition of those who insist that the new constitution has conferred no benefits upon India, and the success with which you carried out your duties was recognized at the last election by those whom you represent and has increased the confidence with which you are regarded by the Muhammadans of Bengal.

As my colleague for nearly two years you gave me very valuable assistance. I can testify that in our intercourse you never surrendered your independence nor swerved from what you considered to be your duty. Whilst seeking to promote the interests of your own community you were always fair to the claims of other communities. You were prompted, I am convinced, by an honest desire to promote your country's good, and you pursued your own convictions without fear or partiality. I trust that in an unofficial capacity you will not desert the causes which you so manfully and successfully defended in office.

I congratulate you on the title which has now been added to your previous distinctions, and I hope that you may long be spared to enjoy it and to give to your countrymen the benefit of your wise counsel and ripe experience.

RAJA JANAKI NATH RAY,

You belong to the Bhagyakul family which has become a household word throughout Bengal for charity and public generosity.

You received the title of Rai Bahadur in 1913, and your public activities and your generosity since then have justly earned for you the title of Raja which has now been conferred upon you as a personal distinction. During the great war you took an active part in war work to which you contributed Rs. 30,000, besides investing largely in War Loans. You further contributed Rs. 50,000 towards the improvement of the Mitford Hospital here in Dacca and subscribed liberally to the

Cyclone Relief Fund. The people of this district especially have reason to be grateful to you and your family for your public spirit, and the appreciation of Government is shown by the title which is now bestowed upon you.

While Bengal mourns the loss of your brother, Raja Srinath Ray, it rejoices in the honour done to you, and is confident that you will carry on the high traditions of your family.

May you live long to enjoy your new title and to benefit your fellow-countrymen whom you have served so well.

**MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT KRISHNA CHABAN
TARKALANKAR,**

Your commentaries in Sanskrit on the Smritis of Raghunandan are unsurpassed for their erudition and lucidity, for the amount of rare and valuable information which they contain, and for the purity of style in which they are composed. You are regarded as a leading authority in Eastern Bengal on Hindu Law and rituals and you have taught, and are teaching, pupils in this subject free of charge. Over 30 years ago you obtained the title of Tarkalankar at the hands of Pandits of Nadia and you have won your present distinction by your special proficiency in the subject and by the original research work you have done. I congratulate you on this recognition of your services to literature and learning.

RAI BAHADURS,

It gives me great pleasure to deliver to you the *sanads* of the titles which have been conferred

upon you in recognition of your services to your country.

RAI NALINI NATH BANARJI BAHADUR

In addition to your responsible duties as Government Pleader, you have done magnificent work as Honorary Secretary of the Chandpur Co-operative Bank and Honorary Organizer of Co-operative Societies in that subdivision. You have consistently exerted your influence for the real good of your fellow-countrymen and have combated successfully the forces of disorder.

RAI SHIV CHARAN DAS MEHTA BAHADUR,

Your good service and ability secured for you rapid promotion in the Police and have now won for you your present title. You have done much to improve the efficiency and discipline of the force which you have commanded and you have always shown yourself a most capable officer.

RAI HIRA LAL MAULIK BAHADUR,

You are always foremost in all good work in Madaripur, where you have shown your public spirit and generosity in many directions. "As Chairman of the Madaripur Local Board, as Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and as Member of the Faridpur District Board, you have devoted yourself to the public good and you have done your best to combat the effects of non-co-operation in your subdivision. That you have received the title of Rai Bahadur only 18 months after that of Rai Sahib is an indication of the value of your recent services."

RAJ GANESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA BAHADUR,.

For the past 20 years you have been Government Pleader of Bakarganj, a post which has involved onerous and responsible duties. You have served Government faithfully and with credit and have shown yourself a very capable adviser on legal matters.

RAI BAHADURS,

I congratulate you on the honours which have been conferred upon you and trust that you may live long to enjoy them.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Police
Parade, Dacca, on 5th August 1924.***

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE BENGAL POLICE FORCE,

Once again I am privileged to distribute police medals and rewards to those officers and men who have done exceptionally good work and thus won this public recognition of their services. I welcome these occasions because they serve to remind the general public of the debt of gratitude which they owe to the police and because they afford me an opportunity of reviewing the work of the year and expressing the views of Government upon it. It is a pleasing feature of these parades that rewards are presented at the same time to members of the public who have given valuable assistance to the police. The inclusion of such an item in to-day's programme serves once again to emphasize the fact that the police are the servants of the community and not merely the servants of the Government, that without the co-operation of the public they could not do their work efficiently, but that with the co-operation of those who respect the law they can protect society against injury from the lawless. The police should be the protectors of the poor, the helpless and the innocent; they should inspire fear in none but law-breakers and disturbers of the peace. They must show patience towards ignorance, and coolness amidst excitement. They must meet deliberate defiance of authority with firmness but exercise unlimited tolerance of errors that are committed through inadvertence. On their courage, their honesty, their good manners, rest the whole

foundations of organized society. If they fail in their duty they are not merely false to the Government that employs them, but they betray the public that has trusted them. I can never address the members of the police force without reminding them of the immensity of their responsibilities. They are more important than any other servants of the State. They are the pillars of society, the guardians of the peace, the prefects of the people. A contented police is the best guarantee of the security of Government, a trusted police is the best test of the unity of a people. But one thing must always be remembered, the police of every country are what the people make them. They cannot possess the qualities which I have described as essential unless the public attribute those qualities to them, support and trust those who possess them and help the Government to eradicate those who are deficient in them. If the police in England are, perhaps, the most efficient in the world, it is because the English people have made them so; it is because the people themselves value discipline and respect authority. If the burly metropolitan constable in his blue uniform is universally regarded as a friendly protector and as an inexhaustible mine of information, it is because every law-abiding citizen from the little child who has to be steered through the traffic to the owner of millions trusts him implicitly with his life and property, and accepts his authority without question. If, in India, the police are sometimes less efficient, less incorruptible, less patient, it is because the public have less regard for discipline, because they fear rather than respect authority, because

they do not regard the police as their own natural protectors, because they have less scruples in offering them inducements to fail in their duty and less courage in resisting blackmail or oppression at their hands—because they cover their police with abuse, grudge them their barely adequate wages, and compel them to live in worse quarters than the criminals whom it is their duty to pursue. I am glad to notice, however, that every year these things show a tendency to get better; the standard both of discipline and of honesty in the police, is rising, the co-operation of the public is increasing, and the relationship, therefore, between the people and the police is slowly improving.

One very healthy sign is the growth of local defence parties in which educated citizens volunteer to assist the police in protecting their own districts from crime. It has been my pleasant duty during the last year to inspect some of these and to congratulate their members on good work accomplished. Much can be done by Union Boards and by local gentlemen of standing in this way as well as in improving the morale and standard of the village chaukidars. It stands to reason that the local residents are best acquainted with the conditions of their own locality and know who are the bad or suspicious characters. If they will take the police into their confidence, then the police will be able the more efficiently to carry out their duties of protecting property and detecting crime. The more efficient the village police are, the less need is there for the services of the regular police.

I do not suggest for a moment that the police should be immune from criticism, but I do ask that

the criticism should be discriminating, that it should be directed against individuals who have failed in their duty and not against the force as a whole. That there are many failures is unfortunately shown by the statistics of judicial punishments, convictions and dismissals that are published every year, though I am glad to note that these are still on the decline. Departmental punishments have, on the other hand, increased, showing that the authorities exact a high standard and are determined to maintain it. The Government will be grateful to the public for any help which will enable them to suppress abuses, eradicate corruption, dishonesty or oppression, and purge the force of those who are unworthy to belong to it. But they will, at the same time, do all in their power to save the good name of the force and protect it against an unscrupulous campaign of falsehood and defamation. The thing that has distressed me more than anything else since I came to India is to find that mere hatred of authority can drive Indian men to induce Indian women to invent offences against their own honour merely to bring discredit upon Indian policemen.

It is not, I think, realized to what extent retrenchment has been carried out in the Police Department and how greatly the department is handicapped at this moment in consequence. There seems to be a general impression that Government obtained fresh taxation from the Legislative Council in 1922 on the strength of promises that the proceeds should be spent upon the Transferred Departments and that the new revenue has instead been spent upon increasing the police—the “spoilt

child" of Government and providing them with "palatial residences." The actual facts are the exact opposite. The extra revenue, which we hoped to derive from the new taxes, has not been diverted from the objects for which it was intended,—it was never in fact received owing to the general trade depression from which Bengal suffered in common with the rest of the world. The Police Department far from being pampered has been more severely retrenched than any other. The training college has been diminished, the detective school has been closed and the river police have been reduced. On the top of former retrenchments a reduction of four lakhs was again made in the cost of the department last year which has necessitated not only some lowering of standards, but also the postponement of several much-needed measures of improvement.

I congratulate the force on what has been on the whole a satisfactory year. The conditions of the Presidency have been more settled and your life and duties have, therefore, been more normal. Political agitation has been less acute, but there have been other causes of unrest and anxious moments in which the police have been called upon to use all their patience, self-control and courage. I refer chiefly to the unfortunate conflicts between Namasudras and Muhammadans in Faridpur district and to the Sonthal unrest in Midnapore and Bankura, in both of which the police acquitted themselves with credit. A disquieting feature of the year has been the appearance of men of the *bhadralok* class in the commission of dacoities. This feature is not confined to Bengal or even to

India. All over the world the excitement produced by the war, and the economic distress which followed it have led to unusual outbreaks of crime by young men of the educated class. Unfortunately in Bengal the revolutionary movement, which has again sprung up, affords an emotional outlet for this class which is not available elsewhere. These young revolutionaries are again resorting to the old methods of intimidation with which the older generation in Bengal is only too familiar. We have evidently an exceptionally difficult and anxious time ahead of us and my last words must be ones of encouragement both to the police and to the general public. I have every confidence in the courage of the police and I know that they will not fail in their duty. Let me assure them, however, that neither the officers of the Government nor the law-abiding citizens, who look to them for protection, will be deterred in the slightest degree by threats of violence from affording them all the assistance which they have a right to expect. Let me assure the general public that we are quite strong enough to deal with this menace and we shall not shrink from using fearlessly and unhesitatingly all the weapons that may be necessary for its defeat. To the police my last words are. We appreciate your difficulties, your discomforts and your dangers, and we regard it as our duty to reduce them to the minimum. We value your services, we rely on your courage, and in the execution of your duty we shall not fail to support you.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Medals and Rewards at the Police
Parade, Dacca, on 5th August 1924.***

MR. HODSON,

In consequence of an outbreak of lawlessness among its inhabitants, additional police had to be posted in a part of the Tippera district. As Additional Superintendent of Police in that district, you accompanied a party of police to Mohini, which was the centre of the disaffected area. On arrival at Mohini you were surrounded by a large mob and threatened with assault. By your tact and energy in dealing with the situation, you succeeded, with the help of your subordinate officers, in dispersing the angry mob without firing. You further maintained confidence among your men by living with them in a small hut for three weeks in the middle of the hot weather.

Your great devotion to duty at a critical time has well earned the award of the King's Police Medal.

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT RAGHABENDRA NATH
BANARJI,

On the night of 12th March 1920, you were in charge of a party of police, which succeeded in surprising a gang of dacoits armed with swords. Three of the dacoits were captured, but in the course of the struggle you received a sword cut on your hand.

• On the night of 17th December 1921, you were again in charge of a police party, when you surprised another gang of dacoits who were armed with daggers and a revolver. You closed with the dacoit, who was armed with the revolver and with another who had a knife, and you succeeded in arresting the former after a struggle. Two other dacoits were also caught by your party.

On both occasions you showed considerable personal courage and set a splendid example of steadiness and leadership for the force under you to follow.

I congratulate you on the fine performance which has won you this Medal.

RAI SURENDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

You entered the police as a Head-constable 30 years ago and by dint of sheer merit you have risen to the rank of officiating Deputy Superintendent. You did especially good work in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the 24-Parganas district where, by the exercise of admirable tact and thoroughness and by extreme hard work, you succeeded in keeping the subdivision free from dacoity by the detection of specific cases and by preventive measures which you took against a very large number of gangs.

Since then you have continued to receive very high encomiums for the exceptionally painstaking and thorough manner in which you have carried out your duties at great personal risk. I congratulate you on the King's Police Medal which you have so well earned.

INSPECTOR KESHAB LAL BHATTACHAJI,

In June 1922, you accompanied Mr. Hodson to Mohini and you were with the force that was surrounded by the angry mob. When the mob threatened assault you rushed unarmed into the crowd and challenged the ring-leaders, who, on seeing your firm attitude, pacified the mob and excitement gradually subsided. Owing to your courageous action and the presence of mind which you showed, it was unnecessary for the police to open fire and so many lives were saved. You richly deserve the Police Medal, which His Majesty has been pleased to award to you.

RIFLEMAN MASEK RAM MECH,

You were attached to the 1st Battalion of the 8th Gurkha Rifles and served in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria during the war. Throughout this period you carried out all the duties entrusted to you willingly and cheerfully under every condition. One of the first men to be trained as a bomber, you then did invaluable work in the training of others. I congratulate you most heartily upon the Indian Meritorious Service Medal, which has been awarded to you for acts of gallantry, meritorious service and devotion to duty while serving with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

BABU BAN BEHARI CHANDRA,

As a teacher in the Katwa High English School, you came to know that the Akra Dacoity had been committed by two of your students among others. You immediately informed the Superintendent of

Police of this and, through your influence, confessions were obtained from your students. By the action you took you gave material assistance to the Police, but risked your life by incurring the displeasure of the gang.

BABU RAM CHANDRA CHAUDHURI,

You, too, are a teacher in a high English school at Barhatta, in the district of Mymensingh. You supplied the police with useful information in connection with a dacoity case and helped them throughout. In fact, you have been constantly of great assistance to the police in putting down bad characters, although you know that such co-operation would make you many enemies.

MUNSHI FAKARUDDIN,

You heard an alarm raised and immediately gave chase with Munshi Pir Muhammad to an accused in a dacoity in Howrah district; and you succeeded in arresting him after a hard chase although he was armed with a dagger.

MUNSHI PIR MUHAMMAD,

The same credit belongs to you also for the courageous and public-spirited part you played in arresting the armed dacoit.

MUNSHI SHAIKH RASUL,

You chased a Peshwari, who was also an accused in the same case, and helped a constable in arresting him, although he, too, was armed with a dagger.

BABU SHYAMA CHARAN RUDRAPAL,

While a dacoity was being committed one night in the house of a neighbour in your village in Mymensingh, the owner managed to escape and raised the alarm, and you and several others collected round the house. The dacoits attempted to escape, but you followed them and struck one of them with a *lathi* and were instrumental in securing his arrest.

BABU GAGAN CHANDRA DE SARKAR,

The valuable information which you gave to the police in connection with a dacoity in Mymensingh led to the arrest of a notorious bad character, who confessed his guilt and implicated twelve others. Of these six were convicted in the Sessions Court, a result for which you were largely responsible.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Rewards at Dacca, on 5th August
1924.***

MAULVI OMAR ALI,

On the night of the 22nd March last year you organized an attack on dacoits who had attacked a house in your village in the Tippera district. A fight ensued in which a number of villagers were wounded, but your party succeeded in capturing one of the dacoits. It was due to your pluck and leadership that the dacoit was arrested.

SIKANDER ALI MIAH,

You helped the President-Panchayat, Maulvi Omar Ali, in the attack on the dacoits and you were primarily responsible for the capture of the one who was arrested. You were yourself wounded during the fight, but displayed great pluck in attacking dacoits who were armed with deadly weapons, while you yourself were armed with only a *lathi*.

***His Excellency's Address at the Annual
Convocation of the East Bengal Saraswat
Samaj, Dacca, on 6th August 1924.***

LEARNED PANDITS,

On previous occasions I have commented upon the fact that your Samaj and myself are of the same age, that we are almost exact contemporaries, having been born about the same date and lived the same number of years. This year I feel more disposed to emphasize the disparity, both in duration and in character, between my official life and your learned one. As the Treasurer has reminded me in his report, another year has rolled by since we last met, another year in my term of office which brings me practically to the half-way post on my short official journey, another year in the long peaceful and untroubled history of your learned association. It is the same period of time to both of us, yet how very different is the significance—the relative value—of those 12 months in the lives of each. Your life is one which need never end. The ingredients of which your Samaj is composed, should always be present, the needs which it supplies will always be felt and the appreciation of its noble and disinterested work should never fail to produce the modest funds necessary for its maintenance. I look, therefore, into the future, and I see the life of your Samaj stretching away along a sunlit path into a distance so remote as to be beyond the reach of my vision. On the other hand, the little span of my official life compared with that of your society is as the life of an insect compared

with that of a man, or as the spark of flint on steel compared with the life of the sun. You are still young, while I have reached middle age, and you will remain young after I am forgotten.

No less strongly contrasted is the nature of your work and the nature of mine. You live in the peaceful atmosphere of scholarship and research, your pandits are engaged in keeping alight the lamp of learning and handing it on from generation to generation. But there few currents of air occur to cause even a flicker in the flame of that lamp. Except for the hand of death, which does not discriminate between the king or the beggar, the scholar or the fool, except for the normal wastage thus occasioned among your members, your work runs smoothly on from generation to generation, like the deep still waters of some perennial river. My work, on the other hand, is spent among the rapids, the torrents, the shoals, the broken waters of public life, where crisis succeeds crisis, and excitement never wanes, where passions are deeply stirred and human nature is shown at once at its worst and at its best.

You can imagine, therefore, with what pleasure on one afternoon of every year I pass across the threshold of your convocation, out of the glare of public life into the dim light of scholarship, from the heated atmosphere of politics to the cool cloisters of learning, from the harsh discord of the Senate House to the quiet harmony of the library. This annual experience, which I owe to you, is like the bathing of tired limbs in cool water, or the contemplation of eternity in a night of stars.

You have referred, Rai Bahadur, to my all too brief sojourn in this city; and I assure you that I regret as much as any of you the enforced shortness of my visit this year. I had been looking forward to a stay of at least three weeks, during which time I might renew acquaintance with old friends and, perhaps, make some advance towards the solution of problems which have been brought to my notice. But fate has ruled otherwise, and circumstances beyond my control have interfered with my plans. I trust it may be some consolation to you to know that my visit to Simla was not only helpful to myself, but will, I hope, prove of value to the province.

You ask me to carry on the traditions of the great kings in ancient days, who considered it a privilege to foster the growth of learning and development of culture by personal encouragement. I may not have all the leisure that those ancient kings enjoyed, but I willingly accept your invitation, and it will always be a pleasure to me to give you encouragement and support. No constitutional changes in the powers or position of a Governor have diminished his ability to extend his personal patronage to organizations like yours. Apart from my personal interest in your welfare my Government, as you know, gives you a grant on certain conditions and this will be continued so long as the conditions are fulfilled and the money is voted by the Legislative Council.

You point with pride to the results of the examinations; in which 1,164 students appeared and 361 passed, 54 with honours. You say that these

figures are eloquent of the high standard which has been maintained; I agree, and I note with pleasure that the examiners report a noticeable improvement in the art of teaching. At the same time the figures do suggest that the art of teaching in the *toils* is susceptible of still further improvement and I commend this aspect of the matter to the careful attention of the Samaj.

The year has been a sad one and as you point out you have lost many of your staunchest patrons and supporters.

The departure of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri from the Dacca University is a real loss. I entirely sympathize with your feelings on this subject and I can promise you my personal assistance in trying to get him back. The University, I was obliged regretfully to admit, had no option but to retrench some of its activities and the Chair of Sanskrit had to be abandoned owing to the comparatively small demand for higher sanskritic studies in the University of Dacca. As I have said before, I am most definitely of opinion that every Indian University should include such studies in its curriculum, although how far they should be specialised depends largely on the locality of that University and its special bias. Therefore, though I could not say that the University was wrong in making the selection it did in the circumstances, yet I regard the loss to the University of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri as a real disaster and I shall make every effort, as Chancellor, to obtain from outside sources sufficient funds to endow a Chair or a course of lectures to which the Mahamahopadhyaya can be appointed.

With regard to your other losses—alas, I am powerless to help. I cannot restore the dead to life, and you have lost by death in the last year three great patrons—Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, Raja Srinath Ray, and Mahamahopadhyaya Kali Prasanna Bhattacharjya. I shall not add to the universal tributes which have already been paid to Sir Asutosh Mookherjee. My genuine sorrow at his death has been expressed elsewhere. No other man could have left so great a gap in the public life of Bengal. He was unique, unrivalled and, alas, irreplaceable.

Raja Srinath Ray, who has died at the ripe old age of 83, belonged to the Bhagyakul family which has always been noted for its public beneficence and its patronage of Sanskrit literature and Hindu lore. The Raja did but carry on the admirable traditions of his family, when he took the lead in founding the “Eastern Bengal Saraswat Samaj” over 40 years ago. Since then he has taken an active and sustained interest in the welfare of the society and contributed generously each year to the spread of Sanskrit education in Eastern Bengal. It is this side of his activities that I am chiefly concerned to recall to-day, but that was merely typical of his attitude towards any movement which he thought would add to the happiness and well-being of his fellow-countrymen. Dacca has reason to be grateful to his memory and I need not enumerate the various schemes which have benefited so materially from his generous help. Suffice it to say that in the death of Raja Srinath Ray, this Samaj, along with Eastern Bengal, generally has lost a wise and generous friend.

Mahamahopacharya Kali Prasanna Bhattacharya is another scholar and friend, whose loss we have to mourn; he, too, devoted his life to the spread of ancient learning and was a firm friend to the society.

Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. It has been a real pleasure to me to renew my acquaintance with your Samaj. Long may you continue to carry on your unselfish and truly patriotic work. May the high standard of culture, which you maintain, never be lowered, may your ideals never be diminished, and may your worthy pandits never feel a need which cannot be satisfied.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening
of Coronation Park School, Dacca, on
7th August 1924.***

MR. VICE-CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

Mr. Biss, after making a comprehensive study of the whole problem, submitted a most interesting and suggestive report in which he outlined a scheme for making primary education universal in Bengal. As he pointed out, it is the duty of the State to use its best endeavours to destroy ignorance and to create efficiency among the people, and the attainment of literacy is a necessary step towards this end. The ultimate aim is to create a net work of schools so placed that every child will have one within reasonable reach. The accomplishment of this aim will require the co-operation of both the Government and the people. In order to encourage local initiative, Government have decided as an experiment to pay half the capital and recurring cost of schools which are opened in pursuance of the scheme and which meet Government's requirements, provided that the other half is met locally. I am glad to find that this offer has been accepted in Dacca where you have definitely undertaken to try and make primary education accessible even to the poorest of your citizens on the lines of Mr. Biss's scheme. I understand that your ultimate aim is to establish 12 primary schools in Dacca town and that these will be so distributed as to serve the needs of the entire area. This year, however, you hope to make a beginning with three

primary schools, of which the Coronation Park School is the first to be ready. This, therefore, is an important day in the history of Dacca, and I am glad that I am privileged to be present on the occasion of the inauguration of your scheme and to witness the introduction of free primary education into the city. You have wisely decided to make a small beginning in an existing building with the minimum of cost, without waiting for the more ambitious scheme to be ready. I say "wisely" because your best chance of securing the necessary support to complete your full scheme is to show that you are in earnest, and having once made a beginning it will be easier for you to build on the foundations of experience already gained. The old Greek proverb that "the beginning is half the whole" is so true that it has found expression in many languages. I hope that it may prove true in this enterprise of yours.

I understand that you have chosen three distinctive areas for the location of the schools, which you propose to open this year, one being predominantly Muhamnadan, one predominantly Hindu and the third on the outskirts of the town in a neighbourhood which is unserved by any schools at all. In this matter, therefore, as well as in the others to which I have referred, the Committee has shown very great thought and care.

I can congratulate the Municipality—and particularly the President and members of its School Committee—on the step that they have taken and the courage they have shown in facing this very important and serious problem. It needs little

imagination to realize what a gigantic problem it is to bring elementary education within easy reach of every child in Bengal. But the difficulties of such a problem must be felt mainly in the rural areas, and, in comparison with the problem which the District Boards find themselves required to meet, the municipalities and town areas have a relatively easy task to face. It is right, therefore, that the municipalities should give the lead, and if Dacca really takes up the work in earnest and devote to it that energy and enthusiasm which the Committee have already shown, the problem of providing this town, within a measurable distance of time, with primary education for all boys, should not prove by any means an impossible one. Surely Dacca, the historic capital of Eastern Bengal, will gladly shoulder the responsibility and prove itself equal to the occasion.

Although Mr. Biss aimed ultimately at free compulsory education, he recognized that we should have to be content for some time to come with the system of fee-charging schools in its various stages before we could reach that ideal. It is one of the special features of this school that you are at one bound reaching the ideal of free education, although you cannot as yet achieve compulsion. I trust that this school, which I am to open to-day, will prove the first step leading to the completion of the larger programme which will one day supply the entire city with similar schools, and I can assure you that Government will co-operate with you heartily in the preparation and completion of each successive stage. When you have shown that your experiment is a success and have inspired confidence

in your management and enterprise, I shall be glad to recommend, to the consideration of the charitable and public-spirited citizens of Dacca and Eastern Bengal, generally the suggestion which has been thrown out for the creation of endowments for the help of primary education.

Gentlemen, the only shadow of regret that crosses our minds on this auspicious day, as the Vice-Chairman has truly said, is the remembrance that the late Nawab Yusuf is no longer here to share with us our pleasure at the realization of his long-cherished hopes. This day is really the fruit of his work and I feel sure that he is with us in spirit.

I now declare the Coronation Park School open, and the system of free primary education in this city inaugurated.

His Excellency's Address to the Recipients of Badge and Sanads presented at Dhittagong, on 9th August 1924.

MR. HENRY CHARLES ECCLESTON,

In the name of the King-Kmperor and by His Majesty's Command, I present you with the Badge of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire of which Order His Majesty has been pleased to appoint you as Member.

RAI BINODE LAL RAY BAHADUR,

Your family has long been known for its loyalty and public service, and you have worthily maintained its traditions.

You have done useful and efficient work for several years as an Honorary Magistrate with first class powers, and you have always shown yourself ready to render practical assistance to the local authorities.

I congratulate you on this well-earned honour.

RAI SAHIB RAJ MOHAN GANGULI,

You have had a public service of over half a century, during the whole of which period you have won the high esteem of your superiors and, indeed, of all with whom you have come in contact for your unswerving loyalty and devotion to duty. I am very glad to have an opportunity of handing you the *sanad* of your title in the presence of your officers and colleagues.

Address presented by the Chiefs, Headmen and the People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, on 14th, August 1924.

1. We, the chiefs, the headmen and the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, deem it our proud privilege to offer our most loyal and cordial welcome to Your Excellency on this memorable and auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to our picturesque station and mountainous district.

2. We beg to take this opportunity of expressing our humble appreciation of the manifold benefits which the Hill Tracts have derived from time to time since the British occupation of the Hill Tracts. We beg to convey through Your Excellency our deep and sincere loyalty and attachment to the British throne.

3. Unlike other districts of Bengal, the district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, with its pre-eminently mountainous and isolated character, is inhabited by primitive and once independent hill tribes speaking a variety of dialects with diverse tribal usages and diverse political functions. These different hill tribes are the Chakmas, Mughas, Tangchanghyas, Riangs, Tipperas, Murungs, Lushais, Pankhus, Bonjugis, Khyangs and Khumis. The economic problems and administrative requirements of this district are, therefore, unique and totally different from those of other districts in Bengal. The chiefs and the headmen have always rendered loyal

services to the State not only during the several Lushai expeditions, but have also proved important factors in the carrying out of the various administrative schemes; and we fervently hope that Your Excellency's Government will sympathize with the past traditions of these, once independent races, so that the ancient chiefs and headmen may live happily in honour and prestige, continuing to enjoy their old rights and privileges.

4. That the late Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Hon'ble Sir Lancelot Hare, and Your Excellency's predecessors, Their Excellencies Lords Carmichael and Ronaldshay, recognized the increasing difficulties of communication between Rangamati and Chittagong owing to the formation of sand-banks in the Karnafuli, and felt that lack of easy communications seriously retarded the development of the district. This district is in urgent need of many improvements, especially the opening out of communications by land and water between the different centres of the Hill Tracts and the Regulation district of Chittagong. Though kind and sympathetic assurance was given by Their Excellencies for the opening of wheeled traffic, no step has hitherto been taken in that direction, and the work has been kept long in abeyance. In this connection, we earnestly pray that Your Excellency would be so graciously pleased as to remove this long-felt want and direct that the work be taken up at once. The districts of Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were one before 1860 A.D. In bond, sympathy, tradition and administrative requirements we are linked with Chittagong. In export and import we are naturally

connected with the Chittagong Port. It is, therefore, essentially necessary to maintain and improve the communication between these two sister districts. We, therefore, pray that roads be so improved without further delay that the motor-car traffic may be possible between Rangamati and Chittagong.

5 Good drinking water has been for long a crying necessity in this station and Lord Carmichael recognized this. A Sanitary Engineer was deputed to enquire into the matter, and plans and estimates of the scheme were submitted in due course. This long-felt want was brought also to the notice of His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, but no tangible step has yet been taken. We pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to take up the matter at an early date, so that the memory of Your Excellency's auspicious visit may be perpetuated by the fulfilment of the assurances given by Your Excellency's predecessors.

6. As regards the newly-created subdivisions in this district, we beg to take this opportunity of impressing upon Your Excellency that the unpromising economic condition and other administrative requirements of this district do not justify the upkeep of subdivisions which, with an increased staff of officers, have served no very useful purpose, but that the additional expenditure has been an unnecessary financial burden upon the straitened resources of the Government. Three subdivisions, *viz.*, the Sadar, Bundarban and Ramgarh, were formed so as to be co-extensive, respectively, with the Chakma, Bohmong and Mong Circles. The

Bundarban subdivision proved abortive and unnecessary, and it has been amalgamated with the Sadar so that one officer now holds charge of the areas formerly comprised in the two subdivisions. The area now under the Sadar Subdivisional Officer with the increased area of 1,235 square miles of the Bundarban subdivision with its own area of 2,499 square miles is 4,434 square miles and its present population, inclusive of the population of 49,062 souls of the Bundarban subdivision, is 126,217 souls; whereas the area and population of Ramgarh subdivision are only 704 square miles and 27,613 souls, respectively. There are nine thanas in the amalgamated subdivision, whereas only two thanas in the Ramgarh subdivision. The jurisdiction of the Sadar subdivision extends as far as the Aracan frontier, whereas Ramgarh is much nearer to Rangamati. If Ramgarh, with only two thanas, be combined with the Sadar, then there is no need of a separate subdivision. The Sadar Subdivisional Officer's present combined jurisdiction is almost co-extensive with that of the district officer. We, therefore, beg to pray that to ensure an equally efficient administration at a considerably less cost, the subdivisions and the staff be abolished, and there be subordinate assistants as before.

7. We beg to say that the economic condition of the jhumias has somewhat improved in recent years on account of a good outturn of crops and rise in the prices of cotton. But we beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that there were already 1,065 square miles of forest reserves out of the total district area of 5,138 square miles and that the major portion of those reserves, owing to their

extensiveness and difficulty of access, are practically unmanageable by the Forest Department and so lying as unprofitable tracts; and that in addition the creation of a good many new forest reserves in recent years has been a manifest grievance due to the increase of, and likewise to the paucity and well-nigh exhaustion of, *jhuming* areas and the scarcity of arable lands. The creation of the reserves in particular areas cannot prevent the silting up of the Karnafuli river, because silting prevails down stream, and also the source of the river is far beyond the Hill Tracts in the interior of the Lushai Hills. The conditions of the Sungoo, Mathamuri and Bagkhali rivers are the same. The silting up of the river is not only due to the spread of cultivation, but also to an ever-increasing population with a corresponding increase of cattle. The Kaptai and the Rankheong reserves have failed to prevent the silting up of the river beyond the actual reserve areas. Silting continues still both above and below those reserves.

8. As regards the new rule about the land, we beg to pray that the special character of the leases be maintained as before with the right of subletting freely as previously permitted by the Divisional Commissioners. As a result of the encouragement especially given by Government and local officers for the extension of plough cultivation, some special leases of large areas were taken and opened out at an outlay of heavy expenditure, and it will be a great hardship on the lessees, if the recent rules be engrafted on the special leases and old grants.

9. We beg humbly to inform Your Excellency that the contemplated abolition of the medical staff

in the province has caused the greatest alarm to the hillmen; in the Hill Tracts doctors and physicians are exceedingly rare, and their services are indispensable.

10. We are sincerely grateful to the British administration for introducing English education and culture in the country, and we venture to approach Your Excellency for increased facilities of education in this backward district.

11. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the Chittagong Hill Tracts being an agricultural district people's wealth consists mainly of cattle, which number several thousand heads, consequently the want of a Veterinary Assistant is keenly felt and we respectfully request that one may be appointed in this district at an early date.

12. We crave Your Excellency's permission to say that we have no concern with any other local association. We consider that political agitation among these hill tribes may do much harm than any good.

In conclusion, we beg to offer our sincere thanks and heart-felt gratitude to Your Excellency for the various benefits and old customary privileges obtained by us from Your Excellency's Government and also for the anxious solicitude and special interest evinced in all matters regarding the Hill Tracts and particularly in the welfare of the hill people. We trust that Your Excellency's visit to Raingamati will prove a pleasant one, and we sincerely wish Your Excellency a long, happy and yet a more prosperous life.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address
presented at Rangamati, on 14th August
1924.***

**CHIEFS, HEADMEN AND PEOPLE OF THE CHITTAGONG
HILL TRACTS,**

I thank you for the cordial welcome which you have given me. I have long been looking forward to this visit for many reasons. My Private Secretary, who, as you know, was Deputy Commissioner of this district a few years ago, has told me much of the beauty and picturesqueness of your scenery and of the charm and variety of the people who inhabit these parts. I have read with great interest of the romantic events that led up to the inclusion of this area in British India and of the influence that Thangliena and other pioneers exercised among the people of the Hill Tracts. I believe that they are still household names amongst even the present generation.

Although the weather was dull and the last part of my journey had to be made after dark, I was delighted with the scenery which I passed through yesterday on my way here from Chandraghona, and I am sure that my visit will provide all the interest which Mr. Wilkinson has promised me.

When my predecessor visited Rangamati five years ago, Mr. Ascoli had just submitted to Government a report reviewing the administration of the Hill Tracts and recommending certain changes. Lord Ronaldshay, therefore, came here very largely

with the object of examining these problems on the spot and it was after his visit that the changes, which have been made in the administration, were introduced. I trust that these changes have already led to an improvement in the condition and happiness of the people, but I shall myself have an opportunity of discussing such matters and of judging how far any modification is required.

In the character of its scenery, the variety of its people and languages, in its past history and present stage of development, this district appears to be quite unique and to present features which are not to be found anywhere else in Bengal. It will be of great interest to me to study them on the spot and to learn whether there is any way in which I can be instrumental in improving the condition of its people.

The address points out that previous chiefs and headmen rendered loyal services to the State during the different Lushai expeditions; I think you will agree that Government showed their appreciation of these services. The recent changes were in fact framed by Government with due regard to the services which had been rendered by the chiefs and headmen and to the position which they had hitherto occupied. Although you have been left with many of your old privileges, these cannot continue to be justified by past services alone; they carry with them obligations, and in your cases the obligations consist of certain duties to Government on the one hand and to the people on the other. Upon the manner, therefore, in which these duties are fulfilled must depend the continuance of such privileges, as are consistent

with the traditional policy of Government. As nearly four years have elapsed since the new system was introduced we now have sufficient experience to judge of its working.

Some of the matters, to which you have drawn my attention, arise out of the changes involved in the new system and I shall deal with these first.

As the result of Mr. Ascoli's report, the district was divided into three subdivisions, corresponding with the three circles, and subdivisional offices have been constructed at Ramgarh in the Mong Circle and have now been in use for two years.

You now press for the abolition of this subdivision on the ground that this will result in substantial economy. I am aware that there has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the time was ripe for the establishment of residential subdivisions, but apart from the initial expenditure the extra cost involved in their establishment is comparatively small, and, as that initial expenditure has already been incurred at Ramgarh, nothing is to be gained by withdrawing from it. In a district of this sort personal contact of the officials with the people is even more necessary for the good administration and happiness of the area than in other districts, and any measures which will increase this contact will obviously be an improvement. The argument of economy has really very little foundation, and Government do not now intend to abolish the Ramgarh subdivision which has already proved useful.

Another matter which may be regarded as arising directly from the change in the administration is the principle governing the tenure of plough

land and the conditions under which it is held. Government's policy is, and always has been, to settle lands with hillmen cultivators and to encourage hillmen to take up this form of agriculture, which was originally foreign to the district. We want to keep the land in the possession of the hillmen, each family having enough to maintain it, but no more than it can cultivate itself, and we wish to deal direct with the cultivator and eliminate the middleman, who merely exploits the land for his own benefit. We must, therefore, control transfers and subleases in such a way as to prevent the land falling into the hands of such middlemen. The rule about subletting has been framed with this object, and while it aims at safeguarding the rights of the actual cultivators it will not, I think, cause any hardship, as it provides that subleases granted prior to 3rd December 1920 and still in existence are to be recognized as valid.

The other matters to which you refer do not arise directly from the changes in the administration though many of them may be said to have resulted indirectly from the publication of Mr. Ascoli's report. In a district like this which is exclusively agricultural the most urgent requirements are probably those that concern its economic conditions, and the measures most needed are such as aim at improvement in the system and practice of cultivation. I can well understand, therefore, that you regard the appointment of a Veterinary Assistant as a matter of considerable importance. Government also have already admitted its necessity and have given administrative approval to the construction of the necessary buildings. I hope that

we shall be able before long to provide the funds required for these buildings and also for the establishment of an agricultural farm where improved methods can be demonstrated and experiments undertaken in terracing, introducing new crops and so on. Lord Ronaldshay hoped to establish such a farm before he left India, and definitely announced the intentions of his Government to do so. This did not prove possible and up to now Government has not been able to allot funds for this purpose. It remains, however, an accepted item in our policy, and this is a district in which it will obviously be necessary for a Government farm to be established as soon as the necessary funds and trained staff can be provided.

A need to which you appear to attach particular importance is the improvement of communications between this district and Chittagong, a problem which has apparently long been a matter of concern to you. Such a measure would certainly increase the accessibility of Rangamati, but I confess to some surprise that you should have pressed for it for so long and with such insistence, for it will only connect Rangamati with Chittagong and will not in any way open up the other vast tracts in the interior of this district. To construct a road which would be of practical and substantial benefit to the trade of this area would be a very large undertaking, and the cost of maintaining it would also be great. The valleys of the Karnafuli and the Chengri, which such a road will serve, have already direct river communication with Chittagong. Nature has provided you in these rivers with lines of communication along which the produce of the

country—bamboos, cotton, timber, thatching grass or whatever it may be—is now conveyed cheaply and directly from the very areas in which they are grown to the Port of Chittagong and I doubt whether even if the road you mention were constructed, the trade would abandon its natural means of transit.

As far as passengers are concerned, I understand that a sufficient service of launches is now established and so long as the Karnafuli remains navigable for them, your requirements appear to be met. To ensure the rivers remaining navigable or at least to delay their deterioration, forests are being reserved near the headwaters of this and tributary rivers; for the substitution of crops for forests in the hills where rivers have their origin has been proved by experience to cause more rapid disintegration of the soil and the consequent silting up of the river channels.

The surprise which I feel at your attaching so much importance to this road is increased by one of the arguments which you adduce in support of your claims, namely, the affinity between this district and Chittagong. My information is that in sympathy, tradition and administrative requirements the greater part of this district is absolutely divorced from the Regulation district of Chittagong. This information is not only what one would expect from a theoretical study of the district, but it is confirmed by other passages in your address.

‘Do not suppose that I attach no importance to the improvement of communications. On the contrary I think it is of the utmost importance in

this as in other districts, but my advice to you is to concentrate upon the improvement of your internal rather than external communications. This would not only link up the different parts of the country and benefit the outlying areas, but it would also have the additional advantage of bringing you more closely into contact with the officials who are largely responsible for your welfare.

You represent that in Rangamati, as elsewhere, good drinking water is a crying need. This was recognized by Lord Ronaldsbay and I find that in 1919 he gave you a definite promise that provision for the cost of new waterworks would be made in the budget of the following year. I do not know whether Lord Ronaldshay's attention was drawn to the fact that this promise had not been fulfilled, but I was not made aware of the promise till I received your address. The fulfilment of it has now become more difficult as the estimated cost has increased and the ability of provincial revenues to meet it has diminished. Nevertheless, I consider that, whatever the difficulties, the Government is bound to implement an undertaking given so definitely and unequivocally by the Governor, and I shall inform my colleagues that in my opinion the honour and good faith of Government require that some provision should be made at once to carry out the promise given to you by my predecessor.

I am glad to hear from you that the economic condition of the jhumias has improved of late, but you complain that the *jhuming* area is rapidly becoming exhausted and that, so far from additional land being made available for this form of

cultivation, new forest reserves have actually been created.

I should like to explain quite clearly the reasons why these reserves have been created. As I have already stated, Government are satisfied that the clearing of forests in the hills round the headwaters of rivers is one of the causes of their subsequent deterioration. The rain which falls in the forests finds its way gradually into the soil and percolates slowly into the river beds without much disturbance of the earth. But when the forests are cleared and crops are substituted, the rains fall with greater force over an unprotected area and the water descending into the river beds scours the hill sides and carries a great amount of soil and particles of rock into the river channels, thus increasing the silting up of their lower reaches. This has been the experience of Western Bengal where the disafforestation of the hill country in the Ranchi district has led to the serious deterioration of the Damodar, Cossye and Subarnarekha rivers that have their origin in that country. With this experience to warn us we are anxious to save the rivers of this district as far as possible from similar deterioration.

This, then, is one reason for keeping so much of the land under reserved forest. Another is to ensure an adequate supply of timber and bamboos for the use of the local population.

I am aware of the objections that the chiefs specially find to this policy, but the reservation of forests does not necessarily militate against the interests of the jhumias. The Taungya system,

which has been introduced here, provides *jhuming* ground and work on very favourable conditions to the jhumias, and the Forest Department is anxious to encourage the settlement of forest villages in these areas.

I feel sure that the economic conditions of the people here could be improved very considerably even with the existing resources. The rules of these Hill Tracts are so framed as to encourage the hill people and to protect them from unequal competition from plains men, but I understand that so far as plough cultivation is concerned the hillmen have not taken full advantage of this, and, so far as they have adopted this form of cultivation, the holders of leases even prefer to employ labour from outside the district. The thatching grass, timber and bamboos, in which this district abounds, and which are exported in very large quantities, offer great opportunities to the hill people of adding to their income by utilizing more fully the products of the soil. In such a district as this, with its great resources and its special rules of protection, there is ample scope for the hillmen to find profitable work. Let them once acquire that habit of engaging in work other than *jhuming* and cultivation, and they need never experience poverty or, in years of crop failure, be driven to apply to Government for loans—which discourage thrift and industry—and which they find difficult to repay.

You express some apprehension as to the fate of the medical staff in this district; but there is not the slightest ground for such fear. The medical staff is not going to be abolished anywhere in the

province. If your reference is to the recent reduction in one of the items of the Medical Budget, I would remind you that the Chittagong Hill Tracts are excluded from the purview of the Legislative Council and you are not dependent on their votes for your grants.

Finally, let me deal with education. I am in some doubt as to the precise direction in which you desire to obtain increased educational facilities in the district. If you are thinking of higher education, I do not see that we can do more than we are already doing by providing the high English school at Rangamati; I am by no means convinced that the parents and boys have, indeed, derived all the benefit they could out of this school and that in such a district as this a school of this type serves a really useful purpose—whether in fact it is essentially suited to the needs and conditions of the Hill Tracts; but in any case we cannot entertain the idea of establishing another institution of this nature in this district (indeed there can be no demand for another such school), although we shall always be glad to consider any proposals which may be put forward for school expansion on an aided basis.

I look forward to a time when hillmen will be able to manage, staff and finance (in part at least) their own school; then only will the benefits of higher education be fully appreciated, and then only will such a school serve a really useful purpose.

As regards primary education (and this seems to me to be of far more importance here than higher

education), I am sorry to hear that it is making slow progress and that the people are apathetic; I can appreciate the disadvantages with which you have to contend in a country of this sort where communications are difficult and distances long, but unless the local people evince real interest and a desire to help, primary education is likely to make very little headway. Government are prepared and anxious to help in the spread of primary education, but they cannot undertake the entire cost of founding and maintaining schools. The first essential of the establishment of primary education in any country is the willingness of people to sacrifice money as well as time and energy for its sake.

Gentlemen, I think I have now dealt with all the questions you have raised and it only remains for me to thank you once more for the very cordial welcome you have extended to me.

I am looking forward during to-day and to-morrow to seeing as much as possible of this delightful country and I hope that the additional knowledge I may thus acquire of your local problems and customs may enable me to make my visit as beneficial to you as it has been pleasant to myself.

Address presented by the Commissioners of the Corporation of English Bazar, Malda, on 24th November 1924.

We, the Commissioners of the Corporation of this town of English Bazar, in the district of Malda, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with this our humble address, offering Your Excellency a respectful and cordial welcome on this happy occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this town. We also take this opportunity of expressing our heartfelt loyalty and sincere devotion to the person and throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor George V and his noble consort.

2. The keen interest and broad-minded sympathy which Your Excellency has always evinced in all matters connected with the sanitation of this Presidency, embolden us to bring to Your Excellency's notice the crying want of pure drinking water felt by the residents of this town. We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of Rs. 11,000 which Your Excellency granted to this Municipality for an experimental boring of a tube-well by the Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, Bengal. As the funds of the Municipality are limited, and the numbers of the well-to-do men in this district are also very few, we fervently hope that Your Excellency will graciously make a suitable grant towards the distributary system of this well water when the waterworks scheme will be taken up by us. In this connection, we beg leave to bring to Your Excellency's notice that on our

presentation of address to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Baron Carmichael, of Skirling, *ex-Governor of Bengal*, in the year 1913, His Excellency in reply promised to contribute Rs. 40,000 for the waterworks of this town.

3. The health of our town is not very good. To improve its sanitary condition *pucka* drains should be made in various parts of the town. For want of funds we have been unable to complete it. We applied to Government for help, and under Government orders a supplementary drainage scheme of this town has been prepared and it is now with the Sanitary Engineer, Bengal. The estimated cost of the scheme is about Rs. 19,950. We are informed that the scheme will shortly be submitted to Government for approval. In this connection, we pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant the entire cost of the scheme which is urgently required for public health.

4. We solicit Your Excellency's indulgence for repeating a prayer which we made before the Government on several previous occasions, *viz.*, the grant to this Corporation of a moiety of the proceeds of the ferries at Jhowghatta, Ramnagar, Fulbari, Kothabari (formerly known as Kaliganj) and the subsidiary ferry of Karkhanaghat which are all situated within the municipal limits. All these ferries (except Fulbari and Kothabari) were made over to the District Board in 1904 before which we used to get a moiety of the income of the principal ferries at Jhowghatta and Ramnagar. After this transfer the Government was pleased to grant a consolidated amount of Rs. 650 a year instead of a moiety. In consequence of the heavy

traffic in these ferries since the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway in 1909, the income of the ferries has substantially increased. Under these circumstances, we pray that the grant of Rs. 650 may be suitably increased.

5. The situation of the railway line is so inconvenient and far off from this town with the river Mahananda intervening that the general as well as the mercantile public of this town cannot fully utilize the railway. The steamer service between Lalgola Ghât and this town is practically made use of for import and export of goods by the merchants of this place; but in the summer season the river being fordable at various places steamers cannot ply regularly and the merchants suffer greatly for the difficulties of import and export, and the general public also suffer greatly at the same time for want of imported goods at the market. It is difficult to bring the railway line nearer to the town now, but the difficulties may be solved if Your Excellency be pleased to move the State Railway to make a bridge at their own cost on the Mahananda and to realize indirectly the costs by levy of a terminal tax while issuing railway tickets or booking goods from and to the Malda railway station. Construction of such a bridge will, it is hoped, enable the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities to abolish the out-agency at Malda as well as to do away with the ghât siding at Nimasarai without any disadvantage or pecuniary loss.

In the Katihar-Godagari line there were three through trains, but at present there is only one train, so it has been very difficult for the people

of this place to go to Calcutta, Rajshahi and Murshidabad and other places on any urgent piece of business.

The people of this town, as well as the whole district, are suffering greatly for want of one more through train in the line. We pray, therefore, that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to move the Railway Department for reinstating the night train in the line or in the alternative, if it is not possible, for making the local train which now runs up to Godagari, a through train as it was long ago.

6. The people of Malda are highly grateful to you for making Malda a seat of a Subordinate Judge. The experiment of a Subordinate Judge trying Malda suits at Malda for two months a year has been successful to prove that there is more than two months' work here. The Sessions Judge comes here to try Sessions cases, but yet in many sessions cases, the accused are to rot in the jail for three to six months after commitment, to await trial by the Sessions Judge. Administration of civil and criminal justice of this district may be much improved if an Additional Judge be placed under the District and Sessions Judge. Rajshahi, and is meant mainly, if not exclusively, for the district of Malda stationed at Malda to try civil and criminal cases, and as an experimental measure this system be given a fair trial here to redress the long-felt grievance of the public.

7. The Charitable dispensary here is sadly suffering from want of a modern and up-to-date surgical ward and accessories. Mufassal people can

scarcely afford to go to Calcutta for surgical operations. If Your Excellency be pleased to make a suitable grant for the purpose of removing our these long-felt grievances, people of this place will ever remain grateful to Your Excellency's Government.

8. In conclusion, we fervently pray to God that He may, in His infinite mercy, vouchsafe unto Your Excellency and Lady Lytton long life, health and happiness.

Address presented by the Members of the Malda District Board, on 24th November 1924.

We, the members of the Malda District Board, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with our humble address and to offer Your Excellency a cordial and respectful welcome on this the august occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this district. We also avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our loyal and deep devotion to the person and throne of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and his noble consort the Queen-Empress of India.

2. With Your Excellency's permission, we beg to lay before Your Excellency some of the most pressing needs and grievances of the people of this district in the humble hope that they will receive kind and sympathetic consideration from Your Excellency's Government.

3. The resources of the District Board are limited and its activities in other directions have to some extent been recently curtailed by the creation of the Public Health Department. We, therefore, venture to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to make over to the District Board the proceeds of the ferries at Fulbari, Rajmahal and Nimasarai, the approaches to which ferries are maintained by the Board.

4. The question of rural water-supply is the most crying want, not only of this district, but of

many other sister districts of Bengal, and with the slender resources at its command the Malda District Board finds it extremely difficult to solve the question speedily and satisfactorily." The Board has already approached Your Excellency's Government with a prayer for a loan of Rs. 50,000, and we wish and pray that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to grant us the loan applied for on easier than the usual terms.

5. The members of the District Board are in full sympathy and agreement with the people of the district in their desire to make the district full and self-contained by creating a separate judgeship for it. The grievances of the people in this respect have been reiterated on more than one occasion and need no repetition here. We venture to think that an Additional Judge, possessing civil and criminal powers, will be the most fitting officer for a district like this and will have ample work to occupy him throughout the year, and we humbly pray that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to sanction the appointment of an Additional Judge for Malda.

6. Your Excellency, the closing of the mouth of the Kalindri River has caused the health and material prosperity of this district to deteriorate to a considerable extent and a prayer for opening the mouth of Kalindri was made on a former occasion to the head of the province. Since then the Kalindri has joined the Kankar owing to natural causes, and if this junction continues and is a little widened, the health and prosperity of the district are bound to improve. We, therefore, humbly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased

to initiate some engineering scheme for the maintenance and improvement of the junction of the two rivers referred to above.

7. The stoppage of night trains on the Katihar-Godagari Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway has caused and is causing immense trouble and hardship to the people, not only of this district, but also of the adjoining districts of Rahshahi and Purnea, and innumerable letters and representations of private gentlemen and public bodies have produced no effect on the railway authorities. The prayer of the people of these districts for connecting the local trains of the Katihar-Godagari Section with the trains on the other side of the Ganges by arranging a timely steamer ferry service met with a similar fate. We, therefore, venture to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to remove our grievance under this head.

8. The insufficient number of openings on the said section of the railway is another source of trouble to the people of the district as it increases the number of water-logged areas, causing damage to some roads and thoroughfares, and making this district more malarious. It is a well-known fact that the district has become notoriously malarious since the construction of the Katihar-Godagari Railway line through it and we venture to think that the unsatisfactory mode of digging burrow-pits on either side of the railway line and the paucity of culverts and bridges along that line have something to do with the spread of Malaria in the district. We, therefore, beg to approach Your Excellency with the humble prayer that Your

Excellency will be graciously pleased to direct the railway authorities to make more openings in the Katihar-Godagari line and so to level and connect the burrow-pits on either side, as to make them serve the purpose of natural drainage to the country around.

9. In conclusion, we devoutly pray to the Almighty that he may grant Your Excellency and Lady Lytton longevity, health and peace.

Address presented by the Members of the Malda Muhammadan Association, on 24th November 1924.

We, the members of the Malda Muhammadan Association, most respectfully beg to offer Your Excellency our warm and cordial welcome on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this historic district of Malda.

2. We venture to embrace this auspicious occasion to express our deep sense of loyalty and sincere devotion to His Most Gracious Majesty our King-Emperor.

3. We congratulate ourselves on welcoming Your Excellency to this district which contains the ruins of the magnificent cities of Gaur and Pandua, which were for centuries the seats of Government of Muhammadan kings, and in the former of which lived at one time two million souls, about twice the population of Calcutta, the present metropolis of Bengal.

4. We venture to lay before Your Excellency some of our pressing wants and grievances, and earnestly pray that Your Excellency will deign to lend a kind and sympathetic ear to them and redress or help in redressing them as far as it lies in Your Excellency's power to do so.

5. For reasons too well known to mention, we crave leave to approach Your Excellency with an earnest prayer that communal representations on the basis of population with a separate electorate be granted to the Moslems in the Municipalities,

District and Local Boards and other local bodies of this province where the Moslem population preponderates.

6. Your Excellency, we smart under a sense of great inadequacy of Moslem representation in the various Government services of this province, and as there is now no dearth of competent Muhammadan candidates, our humble and modest prayer in this connection is that at least half of the Government appointments of all sorts whether superior, inferior or ministerial, and whether officiating, substantive or temporary, be given to the Muhammadans, and especially to the Muhammadans of this district where they constitute over half of the entire population. We also pray that timely notice and wide publicity be given to any vacancy occurring, especially in the Ministerial Department.

7. Your Excellency, the recent drastic curtailment of Muhammadan holidays has caused great chagrin and heart-burning amongst our community. In the civil courts, the Muharram holidays have been reduced from five days to two and the Id-uz-zuhá from two to one, while the very important holidays of Shab-i-barát and Akhiri chahar shamba have been deleted from the holiday list of the current year. In the result, out of the 12 days allotted to the Muhammadans, 'only' six have been retained, so that a clean cut of 50 per cent. has been effected in the case of Moslem holidays, while only about 20 per cent. of the Hindu holidays have been curtailed, their present number being approximately 40 as against 50 last year. Further even these six days will not be fully availed of by Moslems, as, contrary to previous practice, no

provision for alternative days has been made in this year's list of public holidays, a provision, which is absolutely necessary, in view of the fact that the exact dates of the Muhammadan festivals depend on the visibility or otherwise of the moon on a particular day and cannot be ascertained beforehand. Muhammadan holidays under the Negotiable Instruments Act have been similarly dealt with. It will not be out of place here to mention, that even in the sister provinces of Assam and Bihar and Orissa where the Muhammadans are in a minority, Muhammadan holidays have been curtailed only to a very slight extent. On these facts and circumstances and having regard to the Muhammadan majority in the province, our very humble and modest prayer to Your Excellency is that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased, *firstly*, not to curtail the number of Muhammadan holidays which was in force from time immemorial in the civil and criminal courts and in Government offices of this province, and *secondly*, in order to obviate the anomaly and dislocation of public business arising out of the uncertainty as to the visibility of the moon, to add an extra day to each set of Muhammadan holidays.

8. Your Excellency, the existing division of the English Bazar Municipality into wards as well as the allotment of seats open to election for each ward have been a source of great hardship and disappointment to the Moslem rate-payers of this Municipality, resulting in the return, on an average, of only three Muhammadan Commissioners out of the 12 seats open to election. This is quite disproportionate to the number of Muhammadan voters

of the Municipality of which by far the largest number reside in Ward No. 2, which again is inordinately large both in area and the number of voters, but to which only three seats are allotted in contradistinction to Ward No. 1 to which, though about half of Ward No. 2, four seats have been allotted. We, therefore, most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to allot at least five seats to Ward No. 2 or to readjust the wards and seats for each ward, in such a way that the Muhammadans may not be handicapped in the matter of election for so long as the separate communal representation for which we have already prayed is not granted to the Moslems.

9. We are deeply indebted to Government for having inaugurated in this district a system of co-operative credit societies, both rural and urban, by which the public, especially the poor and cultivating classes, have to some extent been relieved from the clutches of local money-lenders. What is urgently needed and what we most earnestly pray for is a speedy extension of the system throughout the district so that every village or group of villages may have a society of its own.

10. The want of a permanent District Judge's court at Malda is keenly felt by the people of this district. The journey to and from Rajshahi, where the District Judge resides, is very troublesome, while the communication by post takes three days. Litigants are put to considerable hardship and expense in filing criminal appeals and in moving civil and criminal petitions of a peremptory nature before the District Judge at Rajshahi, as also in

obtaining copies of records of civil cases which are kept there. Nor has the public grievance been lessened by the present arrangement of deputing to this district the Subordinate Judge of Rajshahi twice in a year, each time for one month only, inasmuch as it has entailed unnecessary delay and postponement of cases, sometimes extending over four years. We, therefore, approach Your Excellency with a humble prayer for the posting of a permanent District Judge at Malda, where there is sufficient work for him, or an Additional District Judge as at Bogra, to which district or to Bankura, where there is a permanent District Judge, Malda is by no means inferior, nay in some respects superior; should, however, this prayer of ours be not conceded, we, as a last resort, pray in the alternative that a permanent Assistant Sessions Judge or even a permanent Subordinate Judge be posted here with all the necessary powers of a District Judge.

11. We avail ourselves of this unique opportunity to lay before Your Excellency another grievance of ours which is of a far-reaching importance. The River Kalindri, which is one of the principal rivers of this district, remains for the greater part of the year stagnant and unconnected with the Ganges of which it was formerly a branch. The idea of having a permanent connection with the Ganges is now, it is said, an impracticable one. There is, however, another river, called the Kankar, which now falls into the Ganges, but which may easily be made to flow into the Kalindri throughout the year as it did formerly. Could we but count upon Your Excellency's help in this matter,

so as to secure a constant current in the Kalindri, it would be a veritable boon to the people of this district. We, therefore, venture to 'approach Your Excellency with a humble prayer that steps may be taken so as to maintain a permanent connection of the Kalindri with the Kankar by removing the obstructing silt at the junction of the two rivers or by such other means as the experts think proper and feasible.

12. Finally, we crave leave to invite Your Excellency's attention to the great inconvenience and hardship caused to the people of this district by the stoppage of the two night trains, one up and one down, in the Katihar-Godagari Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway. We now have practically only one train available to us within 24 hours for the journey to Calcutta, the existing down local train having no ferry service at Godagari or corresponding train at Lalgola. We, therefore, most humbly pray for the resumption of the running of the said two night trains, especially as it is understood that all other trains stopped for financial reasons in other sections of the railway have now been running.

13. In conclusion, we fervently pray to God that He may vouchsafe to Your Excellency a long lease of life and uninterrupted prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Malda, on 24th November
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am very grateful to you for the kind words of welcome which are contained in your addresses and also for your declaration of loyalty to the throne and person of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Unfortunately Lady Lytton was unable to accompany me on this occasion, but my daughter, who has not yet visited any other place with me on tour, is with me to-day and we are both looking forward to making the acquaintance of the interesting features of your district.

I have on many occasions emphasized the importance of a Governor's tours through his province. They give him a valuable knowledge of local conditions and introduce him to those who are responsible for local administration. If I remained always in Calcutta or Darjeeling, I should know very little more about Bengal at the end of five years than I did when I arrived, but by travelling throughout the province I have learnt that there are many matters which vitally affect the health and happiness of the people which are scarcely mentioned in the public Press or in the debates of the Legislative Council. At this moment it is more necessary than ever for me to see the local conditions for myself as I have been deprived of the advice of the Ministers whom the constitution provided as the channel of

communication between the Government and the constituencies. Complete responsibility for those departments of Government which most directly affect the well-being of the people was transferred by the last Government of India Act to Ministers who were to be chosen from the majority in the Legislative Council. During the last year, however, for reasons which you may be able to understand better than I can, the majority of the Bengal Legislative Council instead of exercising its right to provide the Ministers, who would control the policy of these departments, has refused to provide for any Ministers at all and has compelled me to take upon myself the temporary administration of these transferred subjects.

Instead, therefore, of Ministers, who are responsible to the Legislative Council and so ultimately to the electorate to guide your destinies, the Governor himself has the administration in his own hands, and according to the constitution he is responsible for the conduct of these subjects neither to the Legislative Council nor to the British Parliament, so long as the present conditions continue. You may, perhaps, therefore, imagine that I have the powers of an autocrat in respect of these departments, and that, as I am not responsible to the Legislative Council, I can give you what assistance I consider right at my own discretion: but, of course, it is no more possible for me than it was for my late Ministers or than it would be for any Ministers even under a system of full responsible Government to administer the departments according to mere personal whims. I cannot ignore the advice of my trained advisers:

I cannot spend more money than the revenue provides: I cannot take away money from one district and give it to another. I have to balance the conflicting claims and interests of all parts of the province and to do my best to promote the welfare of the whole with the limited means at my disposal.

One of the most important subjects for which I am now responsible is that of Public Health—it is the foundation on which the prosperity of the province in other directions must be built.

Now, the health of the public may be pursued either by the prevention or by the treatment of disease. By prevention I mean the improvement of the conditions and environment which determine the general state of the public health and foremost amongst these conditions are a pure water-supply and adequate drainage; by treatment I mean the provision of medical aid and the resources for curing disease, thereby minimising its evil effects.

Let me deal first with the preventive aspect of this question which is by far the more important; you, in this district, are faced with the problem of a pure water-supply both in the town and in the rural area and also with that of the satisfactory drainage of the town. You tell me that Lord Carmichael once promised a grant of Rs. 40,000 towards the waterworks of this town; that is so, but the grant was contingent upon the provision of certain other amounts from other sources and its amount was based on estimates made 11 years ago. The contingent amounts were not forthcoming and the cost of the scheme has now so

largely increased that it has been decided to experiment with tube-wells, which will supply a slightly cheaper system. As you remind me, Government has sanctioned Rs. 11,000 to meet the cost of this trial boring and the Chief Engineer in the Public Health Department will complete it during this cold weather. On its success or failure will depend the nature of the scheme of water-works which is finally adopted, and it is clear that no definite decision on this point can be reached and no specific help promised until the result of the experiment is known. In any case the Municipality will have to formulate their proposals for financing the scheme and meeting the recurring expenditure before Government can commit themselves to making any grant. As I think you know before any new scheme is taken up the allocation of funds for it has to be approved by the Government as a whole before provision can be made in the budget; but, if funds are available when the main scheme is ready and the Government as a whole approves the allocation of funds, we shall be prepared to make a grant up to one-third of the total cost of the scheme, this one-third including the grant of Rs. 11,000 already made.

The question of water-supply is a problem with which the District Board also is faced and you tell me that you have already applied for a loan of half a lakh to enable you to carry out a comprehensive scheme of rural water-supply. Your idea, I understand, is to sink by means of such a loan a large number of wells within a year or two instead of constructing a very small number each year out of the income for that year. There is a great deal to

he said, for the idea, provided that the whole programme is well thought out in advance and carefully considered in relation to its component parts, but Government require, and have asked for, fuller information as to the precise manner in which you propose to spend the loan and provide the loan charges. As soon as we have received this information we shall consider your proposals.

Your further request that the loan should be granted on easy terms is in effect a but slightly veiled request that part of the half lakh for which you ask should be in the nature of a grant. I realize that this Board is a comparatively poor one, but even so I am afraid we cannot issue loans at lower than the ordinary market rate prevailing for Government loans. I do not say that Government should not or cannot make any contribution towards the cost of supplying water in the rural districts. What I do say is that Government cannot make grants to any one district alone and the possibility of giving assistance to all must depend upon the nature of the assistance required and the total cost of giving it. This question has been so frequently brought to my notice in the last two years that I have asked my advisers to try and evolve some practical scheme. My late Ministers were at work upon it before they were forced to resign, and I hope to have something ready for the consideration of new Ministers when they are appointed.

The Municipality have also under contemplation the extension of the drainage scheme; but I am informed that no scheme has yet been submitted to

the Sanitary Board. The Commissioners should request the Chief Engineer of the Public Health Department to prepare a scheme and submit it to the Board, and, if it meets with the Board's approval, Government will be prepared to give favourable consideration to proposals for a grant of part of the cost: that we should contribute the whole cost is, I need hardly say, out of the question.

Now let me turn for a minute to the other aspect of the public health problem; namely, the question of the treatment of disease. I understand that owing to the generosity of the Raja of Chanchal and the Bais Hazari Wakf Estate you have recently been put in the position of providing the outdoor dispensary which has long been a pressing local need, but that you still require a new Surgical Ward. I should like to offer my thanks and congratulations to your two benefactors and as a practical mark of our appreciation Government will give you Rs. 3,000 during the current year for the construction of the Surgical Ward. I hope that with this encouragement you will yourselves be able to meet the cost of the appliances which you need.

I shall now deal with the questions coming within the jurisdiction of the Local Self-Government Department proper. The first question concerns the ferry receipts, for which both the Municipality and the District Board put in claims.

The Municipality refers to an arrangement dating back to 1904, when certain ferries, the

income of which was shared by the two bodies, were made over to the District Board entirely and a fixed sum of Rs. 650, being half of the average income at that time, was granted to the Municipality. The latter claim that, with the increase of the income from these ferries from Rs. 1,300 to Rs. 2,800, they have a right to expect their grant to be raised. But I am afraid that I can only repeat what Lord Ronaldshay said here five years ago, that this claim can be settled only by negotiation between the two bodies; and its settlement is likely to be difficult and complicated, for the District Board can obviously put forward as a set off against the municipal claim the very considerable amount spent on the roads leading to the ferries: and no doubt other considerations would be raised.

The District Board's request is one which has been made at nearly every district headquarters which I have visited. I have been so impressed with the frequency with which the claim has been preferred and the force of the arguments which have been advanced in its favour that I have decided to have the matter reconsidered on its merits. It would mean a surrender of one source of provincial revenues and, therefore, no decision can be taken on the subject while we are faced with the liability next year for a contribution of Rs. 63 lakhs to the Government of India which has been remitted for the last three years. We, of course, hope that the justice of our case, which obtained the last remission, will again be admitted, but until we are finally relieved of this anxiety, we cannot surrender even a fraction of our existing revenue.

In connection with questions which concern Local Self-Government Department, it will be appropriate to deal with two pleas raised by the Muhammadan Association. One is a general plea for communal representation on local bodies, and the other a particular complaint regarding the distribution of seats over the respective wards of the Municipality.

With regard to the former request, the system of communal electorates has recently been introduced into the Calcutta Corporation, but Government are not at present disposed to extend the system to the mufassal. I fully sympathize with the Muhammadan fears that their interests even in municipal matters would not be safe at the hands of a mixed electorate and I realize that there can be no advance in the principle of representation unless these fears can be removed. But Government regard the principle of communal representation as contrary to the spirit of true nationalism and are anxious to hasten the day when this particular crutch can be dispensed with. The final decision will have to be taken by the Legislative Council as it was in the case of the Calcutta Municipal Act.

As to the particular complaint that the present distribution of seats on the Municipality among the various wards is a source of hardship to the Muhammadans and needs readjustment, I admit that there appears to be some force in the contention of the Association, and the Local Self-Government Department propose to take the matter up with the Municipality and local officers to see if a fairer distribution can be secured.

While on this subject of safeguarding Muhammadan interests, I may take the opportunity of announcing what will be of special interest to the Muhammadan Association, that Government have been pleased to make a free gift to the Committee of the Model Madrassa of the land now occupied by it, subject, of course, to the usual conditions. As the market value of this land is nearly six thousand rupees, I think you will agree that Government have contributed generously to the furtherance of Muhammadan education in this district.

I am glad to see that the Muhammadan Association appreciate the benefits, especially to the cultivating classes, of the co-operative movement and I sympathize with their desire to see it extended so as to embrace every village in the district. Those of you, who sincerely believe in the value of the co-operative movement, can yourselves help materially to extend it by explaining its principles and pointing out the way in which it can benefit the cultivators. This work requires real enthusiasm and sustained effort, but if even one family is thereby saved in time of distress the reward is sufficient to repay all the labour that has been expended. In all the efforts you may make to spread the growth of these societies the Co-operative Department of Government will always be ready to give you advice and help.

So far I have dealt only with matters connected with the transferred departments. I shall now refer briefly to matters belonging to the reserved half of Government and central subjects.

Let me begin with the Judicial Department. There seems to be a general desire here for greater

facilities for the administration of justice and it is natural that you should want the higher courts to be brought within easy reach; but the returns show that there is not enough work for an Additional Judge in Malda and we should not, therefore, be justified in incurring the cost of posting such an officer here. I have, however, directed the department to examine your request and to advise me whether we cannot meet it in some other way such as by extending the period of deputation of the Subordinate Judge, who now comes to Malda for two months in the year, and vesting him with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge.

I shall next deal with your grievances in connection with the railway. The discontinuance of the night through train was necessitated by financial considerations; I realize that this must be a real inconvenience to the public, and I should advise the Associations to represent the matter to the Eastern Bengal Railway Advisory Board, which has been constituted for this kind of purpose.

The inconvenience caused by the want of a bridge between the town and the railway station is a matter in which the initiative should be taken by the District Board, though Government will be prepared to consider the question of helping them in any practical scheme.

The Superintending Engineer of this Circle has been asked to make careful enquiries to ascertain any cases of obstructed drainage in Northern Bengal, but I am afraid we cannot commend to the railway your suggestion for linking up the burrow-pits as this would invite a swift flow of water at

the toe of the embankments and thus endanger them.

It is a frequent experience in Bengal that hitherto healthy and prosperous towns deteriorate owing to changes in the water courses. Such you tell me is your experience here and you ask Government to remedy this by reopening the mouth of the Kalindri. I understand, however, that nature has already shown signs of anticipating us and the Kankar is now passing into the Kalindri and thus restoring the flow past Malda into the Mahananda. The officer-in-charge of the Irrigation Subdivision, which has recently been opened at Rampur Boalia for the express purpose of investigating the condition of the rivers in these parts, is being instructed to report whether it will be necessary for Government to take any steps to help nature in her work.

The curtailment of holidays is part of the action taken on the Retrenchment Committee's Report, but I believe I am right in saying that in this district the Muhammadans have not themselves suffered in practice. The question of alternative days for the Muharram and Id-uz-zuha has been under consideration and Government have decided that when the festival falls earlier or later than was anticipated, the extra day will be treated as an executive holiday.

Gentlemen, having dealt with the principal matters of local interest raised in your addresses, I propose to conclude with a few remarks on the general political situation. It is not my practice, as a rule, on these occasions to mention subjects of general political interest which have not been

raised in the addresses to which I am replying, but the present moment is so critical, and the latest action of my Government in obtaining from the Viceroy altogether exceptional powers for suppressing what we regard as a very serious menace to the safety of the State and to the liberty of its citizens has not unnaturally created so great a sensation that I feel bound to utilize the first opportunity I have had of speaking in public since the recent Ordinance was issued, to say a few words in explanation and justification of it.

I want in the first place to make clear what is the nature of the menace with which we are threatened. The danger does not come from any popular movement. There is no spirit of revolt in the hearts of the people of Bengal. There is no specially acute economic distress to cause a general unrest in the country. Political discontent and political activities have now an outlet they never had before, and for the first time in the history of India directly elected representatives of the people have been given a place in the executive government. The peace of Bengal and the lives of its citizens are threatened by no popular uprising, but by a comparatively small body of men who have introduced methods of terrorism into their political programme and are seeking to murder those whom they hate or fear, to overawe by threats of murder those whose political activities are inconvenient or objectionable to them, to import foreign arms and ammunition into the country for the purpose of making their terrorism effective. This conspiracy of violence has already revealed the following characteristics.

Peaceful citizens wholly unconnected with politics in the innocent pursuit of their lawful avocations, have been murdered in broad daylight. Robberies with violence have been committed to secure funds for the terrorist organization. Men suspected of giving information to the police have been assassinated. Witnesses in trials for offences connected with politics have been threatened with assassination, and intimidation has thus interfered with the administration of justice. Not only have police officers and Government officials been similarly threatened, but even candidates for election to and members of the Legislative Council have been intimidated with threats of murder if they do not conform to the wishes of the self-styled patriots. All the weapons, by which the murders have been committed in the last eighteen months, are of a foreign type which cannot be obtained in this country. Bombs of a very modern and efficient type have been manufactured. One such factory was discovered by the police in Calcutta, and the recent murder in Mirzapur Street was committed with a bomb of this type. Since July last threatening leaflets signed "Red Bengal" have made their appearance, and these have been served on all persons who have had any connection, however remote, with the political actions of Government.

Gentlemen, if I am asked for evidence of the existence of a terrorist conspiracy in Bengal, I point to all these things, which are not opinions or theories, but facts; and whatever may be said in the Press, no one who knows these facts can fail to believe in the reality of this terrorist movement.

If that be so, I ask you where is the liberty which I am accused of destroying? I am supposed to be interfering with the freedom of the subject by keeping men under arrest without trial. Men who live within the law are entitled to the protection of the law. But men who defy the law, who live and act outside the law, who menace the liberty of those who live within it, who take upon themselves to decide without any process of law who shall live and who shall die, these men have no right to the protection of the law—they are outlaws, they are a danger to the State, and their liberty is forfeited. It is against such men and such men alone, that the Special Powers which my Government have asked for and have obtained are being directed. Every single man, who has been arrested under Regulation III of 1818 or under the new Ordinance, is a member of a terrorist organization that seeks to attain its objects by violence and intimidation, that proposes, if not checked, to carry out more murders. Every man, too, who has been arrested is being detained, not on the isolated statements of a single informer, but on evidence from many different sources unknown to each other, spread over many months, which has to satisfy the Government of Bengal, as well as two independent Judges, and in the case of the Regulation III prisoners the Government of India and the Viceroy himself—probably the best trained lawyer in India—that he is not merely a member of, but an active participator in, this terrorist conspiracy.

My object is not to suppress or hamper any political movement which is conducted within the law, but to make it possible for all men, whatever their political opinions, to express them freely

without fear of assassination. The effect of our policy will be not to interfere with liberty, but to establish it. Unless this terrorist movement is suppressed, there can be no liberty in Bengal and it is the duty of all those who live within the law, who desire its protection, and who wish to be free from intimidation in the pursuit of their lawful business to support the Government in the steps they have taken to stamp out the use of the bomb and the revolver.

I am told that we cannot crush the spirit of freedom in a nation, nor stifle its desire for political independence by coercion. That is not only true but obvious, and if our measures were directed against any deep-rooted popular movement, they would be bound to fail; but as I have told you they are directed against no such thing. Why should I, of all people, wish to crush the political freedom of the people of Bengal when it is for the express purpose of enabling them to secure political freedom and develop self-governing institutions that I have come to Bengal?

If Government were ever to allow a single organization to intimidate all others and to decide the issues of life and death, it would forfeit its right to exist and all liberty would be dead. This particular menace *can* be stamped out by what is called repression, and by no other means. It is repression of crime, but not repression of liberty. The measures we are taking have been effective in the past and they will be effective again. No misrepresentations or abuse or threats will move us one inch from the path of duty which, in the interests of the State, confided to our charge, we are bound to tread.

***His Excellency's Address to the Residents
of Sanads at the public reception at
Maida, on 24th November 1924.***

RAI SAHIB PANCHANAN MAZUMDAR—

You have always shown great public spirit and courage in the execution of your duties and have always been to the fore in work for the public good. You were a pioneer of the co-operative movement in this district and the founder of the local central bank. In this way you have set a fine example of the kind of work to which I referred to my speech just now and I hope it will be followed by others in this district. You are a member of most of the public committees and you did very helpful work during the war. Your services are greatly appreciated.

KHAN SAHIB MAULVI ABDUL GHANI—

You have always used the great influence which you enjoy amongst your fellow-Muhammadans in this district to good effect. In the days of non-co-operation you gave sound and sober advice to your followers and contributed to the success of the campaign against that movement: your help was of material assistance to the well-being of your fellow-countrymen.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur Municipality, on 26th November 1924.

We, the members of the Dinajpur Municipality, on behalf of ourselves and other residents of the town of Dinajpur, beg to approach Your Excellency to offer our cordial, and respectful welcome to Your Excellency on this occasion of your first visit to this ancient and historic town, and we beg to take this opportunity to express our most sincere and heartfelt loyalty to the person and throne of our Most Gracious Sovereign.

2. We beg leave to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the defective drainage of the town has been a standing menace to the health of its residents. In the year 1916, a drainage scheme was prepared by the Sanitary Engineer involving a cost of Rs. 2,75,000. The most necessary part of the scheme, namely, the making of the beds of the Ghagra and the Kachai Nala *pucka*, which was estimated at Rs. 1,20,000, could not be effected for want of necessary funds, and we look to Your Excellency's Government for the improvement of the drainage of our town.

3. The north-western portion of the town is inundated almost every year by the rising of the Punarbhaba River causing much distress among the inhabitants of the locality. The construction of a protective embankment, in continuation of the existing one, is absolutely necessary. The cost of this, which is estimated at Rs. 20,000, cannot be met from municipal funds, and we hope that Your

Excellency's Government would help us in this matter.

4. One of the main causes of the flooding of certain portions of the town is the closing of the two spans of the railway bridge over the River Panarbhaha by the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities and the opening of the said two spans is necessary for the prevention of the flood. We beg that the matter would receive the kind attention of Your Excellency's Government.

5. Much difficulty has been felt in keeping the roads, which are made and repaired with stone-metal, in a proper state of repair for want of a steam-roller, and we beg that Your Excellency's Government would help us in this matter.

6. The construction of a separate ward in our hospital for patients suffering from *Kala-Azar*, Black Water Fever and other tropical diseases, with a clinical laboratory attached, is very necessary and we depend on the help from Your Excellency's Government for it.

7. In conclusion, we pray most fervently for Your Excellency's sound health and a happy and prosperous career.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur District Board, on 26th November 1924.

We, the members of the Dinajpur District Board, on behalf of ourselves and the people of this district, humbly beg leave to offer our respectful welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to this historic town.

2. The District Board of Dinajpur was constituted in 1887 and the members were all nominated by Government till 1920 when the elective system was first introduced in this district and the people were given the opportunity of managing their local affairs themselves. Our responsibilities are great, but the funds at our disposal are too inadequate to allow us to discharge them to their full extent.

3. The district of Dinajpur is notoriously unhealthy. Malaria and *Kala-Azar* have been carrying off a large number of people every year. In order to minimise the havoc caused by these diseases, approximately 84 dispensaries will be needed. In 1921, the non-official *regime* started with 20 dispensaries, 14 of class III-B and 6 of class IV, besides 5 of class V dispensaries which owed their existence to the liberal support of some of the leading zamindars of the district. We have opened since then 18 more dispensaries, *viz.*, 6 of class III and 12 of class IV. These are experimental dispensaries which have been mostly started in temporary houses for want of funds. Still about 40 more dispensaries will have to be opened, so that we can have one dispensary (roughly

speaking) for every 50 square miles, and for every 20,000 people. We are grateful to the Government for the annual contribution of Rs. 2,000 as the partial cost of the maintenance of three thana and two village dispensaries. Out of our limited resources we have, however, to spend for all the dispensaries about Rs. 60,000 a year and we cannot afford to allot any further sum for the purpose. A heavy sum of money has to be spent every year for the maintenance of a staff of the Public Health Department of the Board, and we cannot afford to launch the scheme of major or minor operations for combating Malaria, and other fell diseases. We have, however, been utilizing this department for the prevention of the spread of epidemic diseases, and we are successfully checking these diseases as promptly as possible.

4. In order to combat *Kala-Azar* we have trained all our medical men in Antimony treatment and have appointed two itinerant doctors for treating the people in affected areas. Many more of such doctors are required, but we cannot employ them for want of funds.

5. The Board is keenly feeling the necessity of starting a small clinical laboratory for proper diagnosis, but it has not been able to do so for inadequacy of funds.

6. There are only 1,269 primary schools in the district and the area of the district is 3,946 square miles. We have thus one school for every three square miles and a quarter, whereas we require at least one school for every square mile. The people of the district are very backward in education, and the sooner we can open a sufficient number of

schools, the better for the improvement of the country. The Board spends annually on the head "Education" a sum of about Rs. 1,07,000 including the Government contribution of Rs. 5,500 a year. The Board cannot afford to spend anything more on this head with its present income.

7. The Board has to maintain 1,400 miles of roads and it cannot afford to spend more than Rs. 80,000 a year for their maintenance. The entire trade of the district depends on these roads, as the mileage of railways in the district is very small and as there are practically no rivers which are navigable throughout the year. There are 75,000 carts in the district and an equal number of carts regularly come from the neighbouring districts. The soil of the country is not suitable for good *kulcha* roads in many places and specially during the rains cannot stand the heavy cart traffic for the purpose of carrying jute to very distant railway stations. The result has been that the jute producers in the interior of the district have entirely to depend on the mercy of the middlemen and other speculators. The material prosperity of the people is much affected for want of adequate communication. The remedy would lie in provincialising some of the main roads of the district and having them stone-metalled and to open up railway communications to the main centres of trade in the district.

8. As regards water-supply, the Board has been sinking a large number of wells every year and during the last three years about 500 wells have been sunk. Many thousands of wells will have to be added before the question of water-supply to the

villages can be solved. It will take years to do this, but the work can be expedited if sufficient money is available.

9. We have, in short, narrated our requirements with the hope that Your Excellency's Government will come to our rescue to meet the situation and to help us to discharge our responsibilities properly and efficiently.

10. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that we have been doing and will continue to do, with the limited income at our disposal, all that is possible for the well-being of the people entrusted to our care.

With fervent prayer to the Almighty for the health and prosperity of Your Excellency.

Address presented by the Members of the Dinajpur Landholders' Association, on 26th November 1924

We, the members of the Dinajpur Landholders' Association, for ourselves and on behalf of and representing the zamindars of the district of Dinajpur, beg leave to approach Your Excellency to offer you our most respectful and cordial welcome on the occasion of your first visit to this town.

2. Rice, jute and sugar-cane are the main crops of the district, but the continued low price of jute, which is the mainstay of the Thakurgaon Subdivision for years together, owing to the manipulation of the capitalists, specially foreign, has affected both the zamindars and the tenants and has seriously hampered the cultivation of the crop.

3. For some time past there have been carried on *anti-zamindar* propagandas through ill-informed persons and through certain sections of the Press with the result that no good has been done to anybody, but rather much ill feeling has been aroused, where there had been none, against the zamindars, who have always stood by the Government in all causes having a beneficial effect to the country, and who cherish the hope that the rights and privileges enjoyed by them will be amply safe at the hands of the Government.

4. It is a matter of great concern to the people of the district that the once flourishing cottage

industries of Dinajpur, the manufacture of gunny and gunny bags amongst them, have been fast deteriorating for want of due encouragement, and we earnestly hope that Your Excellency's Government would help their revival.

5. The trade of the district has been materially suffering for want of adequate railway communications, and we hope that early steps will be taken to remove this crying need.

6. We beg to assure Your Excellency of our staunch and unswerving loyalty to the throne and person of our beloved Sovereign.

With fervent prayers for Your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity.

*Address presented by the Members of the
Muhammadan Association, Dinajpur, on 26th
November 1924.*

We, the members of the Muhammadan Association, Dinajpur, on our own behalf and on behalf of the Muhammadan population of the district, beg to offer to Your Excellency our most hearty and respectful welcome on this occasion of Your Excellency's visit to this ancient town.

2. We take this opportunity to express our sincere and loyal devotion to the person and throne of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor of India.

3. We beg to submit that the Muhammadans of Dinajpur constitute nearly 50 per cent. of the total population and that they are very backward in education, and the amelioration of their condition depends entirely on the spread of education among them.

4. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the Muhammadan Hostel, Dinajpur, has very badly suffered from economic causes as well as from Non-co-operation movement and the number of boarders has in consequence dwindled from 63 to 20, and hence the chief source of income of the hostel has been adversely affected. The hostel authorities incurred debts in erecting a dining hall. To discharge these debts and to execute thorough repairs to the hostel buildings, they are in need of a sum of Rs. 1,000. We most humbly

pray that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to grant a suitable contribution for the aforesaid object.

5. We are sorry to inform Your Excellency that the Bengal Tenancy Act remains unamended still, and we are afraid it will do so for a long time to come by the doings of our representatives to the Legislative Council. We would ask Your Excellency's Government to take up the matter as early as possible in order to bring about a settlement between the landholders and the tenants.

6. We take this opportunity to urge the claims of the educated Muhammadans of this district before Your Excellency. A few years ago there was a cry that Government could not find qualified Muhammadans, but now many Muhammadan graduates and under-graduates of this district are pining away being unsuccessful to enter into the Bengal Civil Service (Executive), the Subordinate Civil Service, in the Police, Excise, and Registration Departments and in the upper divisions of the ministerial posts. We beg to express our deep regret that Muhammadans are not fairly represented in the Judicial Branch of the Bengal Civil Service. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency may be pleased to take such steps, as may be deemed necessary, to bring this to the notice of the Hon'ble High Court. We beg to convey our thanks to the heads of the departments who are trying to raise the number of Muhammadan ministerial officers to the minimum limit prescribed by the Government.

7. We beg further to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that the need for a prayer-house, in the

vicinity of the courts, is keenly felt by the Muhammadan litigants of the civil and criminal courts, as well as by the Muhammadan employés and lawyers of these courts. At present they have to pray in the open in sun and rain, or to proceed to the nearest mosque which is a quarter of a mile from the courts. It often happens that parties go to the nearest mosque to offer their prayers when their cases are taken up in their absence and struck off for default. So we respectfully and earnestly pray that Your Excellency will grant us a suitable site near the courts and allow us to erect a *pucka* prayer-house on it at our own cost for which the Muhammadans of Dinajpur will ever remain grateful to Your Excellency.

8. We further beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that a second maulvi is necessary in the local zilla school in order to allow Muhammadan boys to take up Arabic as their second language. As unlike most Government-managed high English schools, the Dinajpur Zilla School offers only Persian as second language, Moslem students desiring to take up Arabic do not come to the zilla school and that is one of the reasons why the number of Muhammadan boys has decreased in the zilla school.

9. We further beg to ask a contribution of Rs. 1,000 from Your Excellency's Government for the construction of a building for the Golapbag Junior Madrassa in this town, the Madrassa authorities finding the balance of the total cost.

We pray to the Great Almighty Father, for Your Excellency's long life and prosperity.

*Address presented by the Merchants of Dinajpur,
on 26th November 1924.*

We, the undersigned, on behalf of ourselves and representing the merchants of Dinajpur, beg most respectfully to offer a hearty welcome to Your Excellency on the occasion of Your Excellency's visit to this town.

2. The Merchant Association of Dinajpur has been in existence for about 150 years, though it was originally known as the "Panchayati." Most of the merchants and traders of this district are the members of our Association. It exercises a wholesome influence, not only on its members, but on the rural population, by encouraging trade and industries of the district and by settling disputes, whenever possible, arising out of business transactions.

3. Dinajpur is one of the most important business centres in Bengal. Dinajpur railway station probably yields the highest income to the railway administration in North Bengal. But the arrangement for the proper accommodation and safety of the goods is far from satisfactory. Some additional goods sheds should be constructed as very often paddy and other goods are stocked outside and left in the rains. A more efficient arrangement for adequate supply of goods wagons should be made during the busy season.

4. There is a railway line running east and west dividing the district into two halves, but there is no line running north and south through the

district, with the result that a considerable tract yielding largest agricultural produce has to depend upon country carts for its export.

Our prayer is that a railway line should pass through the town, connecting the two subdivisions of Thakurgaon and Balurghat and join it with the main line at Santabar.

5. The merchants and the traders of the town contribute the largest amount of taxes to the municipality. But the wards are so divided that they cannot ordinarily return more than two Commissioners to the municipality. We, therefore, beg to suggest that in appointing seven Commissioners our claims should be considered and at least two Commissioners should be nominated from the members of our Association.

6. Similarly, two members of our Association should be appointed to the District Board out of nine appointed members.

7. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency of our loyalty to the throne and person of our beloved Sovereign and our readiness to offer our humble co-operation and services in the cause of law and order, as our prosperity depends upon them, whenever they may be needed.

With fervent prayer for Your Excellency's health, long life and prosperity.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses
presented at Dinalpur, on 26th November
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your kind welcome and good wishes. I appreciate them all the more since they come at a time when abuse and misrepresentation is more common than charity or tolerance. I wish to begin my reply by explaining to you the procedure which all the proposals you submit to me have to go through before they can be carried out. I have noticed that the local bodies generally do not realize that new schemes, which involve expenditure from Government revenue, have to go through a considerable number of stages before they can be taken in hand and consequently there must be some delay in giving effect to them. It occurs to me, therefore, that it may be of some assistance if I briefly outline these stages, as this may help you to appreciate the position and to realize exactly what steps the local bodies have to take and what prospects the particular schemes have of being financed within the near future. Incidentally it may enable me to dispel the belief which still seems to be prevalent in some quarters that the Finance Department not only controls the purse, but also dominates the policy of Government. This is certainly not the case in Bengal at any rate, where that department performs its rightful function of examining schemes and expenditure from a technical point of view and of ensuring that

recognized financial canons are observed; you will observe that the Finance Member in this Government has no big spending department in his portfolio and thus has no more opportunity of dictating Government's policy than that which he possesses in common with other Members and Ministers. He has no bias in favour of any particular department and examines the schemes of all with equal impartiality.

Let us take as an example a new waterworks scheme, which involves some contribution from the public revenues. This scheme is first examined in the Local Self-Government Department which consults the Finance Department on the financial commitments in which it will involve Government; if the scheme and its commitments conform to the principles and policy recognized by Government, administrative approval will be given to the scheme, and it is then included in a list of approved schemes. If the Finance Department and the Administrative Department disagree, the decision of the Governor is invoked.

The second stage is the allocation of funds in the budget. As you know, the money available for new schemes is extremely limited (the more so just now while we have to face a demand that we should contribute 63 lakhs to the Government of India from next year—a contribution which has been remitted during the past three years) and so Government as a whole has to decide which of the various schemes in the approved list are most urgent and should be provided for in the budget; not only does the waterworks scheme have to compete with other waterworks schemes, but with

all kinds of projects from all other departments; reserved and transferred. But the important point is that, Government as a whole—and not the Finance Department—decides what schemes shall be recommended to the Legislative Council for the provision of money. This waterworks scheme then has first to obtain the approval of the Local Self-Government Department on its merits, and to satisfy the Finance Department that it is financially sound. Then it has to be considered by the whole Government in conjunction with other approved schemes, and if and when it is finally included in the budget demands, it has to be submitted to the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council votes the amount required for the scheme, the work can be taken in hand during the year for which the budget provided.

Every single scheme has to go through all these stages and there is no short cut; if the public will only bear this in mind, they will, I think, appreciate the reason for the disappointing and hypothetical nature of some of my replies.

One often hears the statement, and it is repeated in your addresses, that this district is notoriously unhealthy; and the Municipality represent the need of a proper drainage scheme to help to remedy this so far as the town is concerned; yet if I am to believe the figures of mortality, recorded by the Municipality itself, the town of Dinajpur would appear to be one of the healthiest places in the whole world, and no drainage scheme or other improvement could possibly better it. It is clear that these figures must be wrong. Dinajpur is not the only place in which I have noticed this

discrepancy between official statistics and the facts which I find when visiting a district. There appears to be a very general indifference to the value of statistical information or great carelessness in its compilation. Instead of affording valuable information regarding the condition of the public health such figures as are available are often misleading and liable to produce entirely erroneous conclusions not only as to the health of the locality, but also as to the effect of measures taken to improve it. Government is frequently asked by a Municipality for assistance in introducing sanitary measures, in order to improve the health of the town, while the figures annually supplied by that Municipality itself belie the premises on which the request is based. I would, therefore, impress upon you and upon other municipalities in Bengal the value of a conscientious administration of the Registration of Births and Deaths Act.

As for the scheme which you propose for improving the health of your town, it is, as you say, extremely costly and you cannot, of course, embark upon it without some help from Government. But so far as I can learn, no steps have yet been taken to work out the sketch scheme which was prepared in 1916. It is clear that you must evolve a practical scheme showing how you can finance it and the proportion of the cost which will be met by local contribution. Government cannot undertake to make a large contribution from revenues for a local improvement where there are no signs of any portion of the liability being shouldered by the local people.

The District Board have rendered to me a good account of their stewardship in the matter of providing a rural water-supply. 'The progress sounds extremely satisfactory and promises well for the future of the villages, but for a complete solution of the problem, the co-operation or rather initiative of the villages themselves will be required. I hope the District Board realize the importance of using the village organizations as agencies for carrying out such works of local utility. As I said at Malda, Government are considering seriously the question how far provincial revenues should be used for dealing with the problem, and the proportion of the cost to be borne by Government and the local bodies, the system of distribution, and so forth. When the final proposals have been approved by Government, we hope that they will establish an important landmark in the history of public health in the province.

The District Board is further to be congratulated on the steps it has taken to provide additional facilities for medical relief by opening a number of dispensaries. Admirable though this example is, I hope you will not let your zeal in providing facilities for the treatment of disease blind you to the importance of organizing preventive measures. The necessity for treatment will be lessened with the increase of resources for prevention. The success achieved in Java in stamping out Cholera by the widespread use of cholera vaccine is a striking example of what can be done by an organized campaign of prevention; so, important as is the establishment of a net work of dispensaries,

we must not overlook the necessity of concerting measures for preventing and stamping out such diseases as Cholera, Small-pox and *Kala-Azar*. One method of attack is the appointment of Sub-Assistant Surgeons as District Health Officers; being itinerant officers, they would reach more people than those posted to dispensaries, and they would be able to educate the people in the elementary principles of hygiene, and at the same time they would be competent to diagnose and inoculate against *Kala-Azar* and Cholera. Statistics show that a number of thanas in this district have an unusually high average of mortality from Small-pox and they probably serve as foci of infection. Now, as you are no doubt aware, Small-pox is a disease which can easily be eliminated if proper measures are taken, and it would be wise for you to see what your District Health Officer can do to reduce the incidence of the disease. But he will, of course, need an adequate staff; for, successful as he has been hitherto, he cannot be expected to cope single handed with so vast a problem.

I am glad to hear that all the medical officers in the employ of the District Board have now been trained in *Kala-Azar* diagnosis and treatment, as the best prospect of reducing the incidence of disease here and in the province generally is by the employment of qualified itinerant doctors. Recognizing the importance of this, Government is now considering the question of augmenting the local staff by means of trained Sanitary Inspectors and Assistant Health Officers.

The Municipality and the District Board have both referred to the need of a clinical laboratory,

and the former press for the construction of a separate ward for the treatment of *Kala-Azar* and kindred diseases. Government realizes the benefits which would accrue to the whole district from the establishment of such a ward and laboratory, and, if the two bodies will draw up a joint scheme in consultation with the Magistrate and the Civil Surgeon, Government will do their best to assist in financing the combined scheme.

It has been suggested that part at least of your requirements might be met by the replenishment of the Sadar Hospital laboratory, which might be used also by the District and the Municipal Health Officers, whom I am sure the Civil Surgeon would welcome there. I hope to have an opportunity of discussing the matter while I am here.

Various questions have been raised in connection with education.

I am glad to see the importance you attach to the spread of primary education and I think you will admit that Government have treated this district quite generously in the matter of grants; but I am afraid you have not made full use of these grants, as I understand that grants, which have been made from time to time for repairs, have not been fully utilized and I understand that the Board still has an unspent balance of Rs. 3,000 from such grants. Moreover, a sum of Rs. 6,000 for the establishment of six additional panchayati union schools is lying unspent with the Board. Until these schools are opened and the Rs. 3,000 spent, it will be premature to consider the question of a further grant.

I also agree with the Muhammadan Association when they say that the best means of ameliorating the condition of their community is to be found in the spread of education and I shall now deal shortly with the various requests which they make. Towards the debts incurred in the hostel buildings and the sum required for putting them into thorough repair, Government will be pleased to contribute Rs. 1,000 if the Committee will apply to the Education Department through the Inspector of Schools. I hope this will enable you to clear off all your liabilities.

The next request is for the appointment of a second maulvi for the zilla school. The proposal of the Director of Public Instruction to this effect is now being considered by Government and an endeavour will be made to create the post from the next financial year.

A third request is for a contribution of Rs. 1,000 towards the cost of constructing a building for the Golapbagh Junior Madrassa. I understand that the present site and accommodation are entirely unsatisfactory, but it is clear that nothing can be done until the Managing Committee selects a site and works out a practical scheme. You will then be able to submit an application in accordance with the ordinary rules; when this is done the application will be favourably considered by the Director of Public Instruction who will sanction a grant admissible under the rules as soon as the usual formalities are completed.

So much for the educational questions which you have raised.

You complain that part of the town is regularly flooded and you attribute this in part at least to the action of the railway authorities in keeping two of the spans of the railway bridge closed. I understand that this was done because it was found that there was no discharge through these spans and that the bridge offered no real obstruction to the flow of water.

To remedy this state of affairs you ask for the opening of these spans and also for the construction of a protective embankment. When you brought this latter request to my predecessor's notice he advised you to submit formal proposals to Government. I can find no record, however, of any such reference having been made and so the matter stands where it did five years ago. It is clearly impossible for the Municipality to finance a loan for the purpose, but if you can raise subscriptions to meet one-third of the cost, Government would make an effort to meet part of the balance of the expenditure.

As to the steam-roller, I am afraid Government cannot help you with funds for its purchase. I should advise you to consider the possibility of purchasing one by means of a loan, which it should be easily within your competence to finance.

Government cannot accept your proposal that the more important roads should be provincialized. It is the business of the District Board to provide for local communications, and we could not agree to accept new liabilities in this direction; the Retrenchment Committee, you will remember,

recommended a transfer in the opposite direction—namely, the maintenance of all roads by local bodies at their own expense.

The Merchants' Association ask that at least two Commissioners of the Municipality should be nominated from their members. On this occasion one member has been nominated, but it must be remembered that two of the elected Commissioners are merchants: Government uses the power of nomination for redressing inequalities in the election and for seeing that due consideration is given to the claims of all communities and interests. We cannot promise to adhere to any fixed distribution of the nominated seats, which must depend on the result of the elections. However, the local officers will, I have no doubt, bear in mind the general principle underlying the request. So also with the nominations to the District Board.

I am afraid it will be a long time before the railway projects for this area can take definite shape, but if the local bodies are prepared to guarantee such lines against loss we can address the Railway Board. Failing such guarantee, it will be of little use asking them to show any preference for this particular area.

As to the supply of additional goods-sheds and wagons, I understand that the present goods-sheds are considered adequate in comparison with other busy stations, but the Agent of the Railway has promised to bear your representations in mind. There is also a sufficient stock of wagons, but these have to be distributed among the various loading stations in proportion to their demands. As you can imagine, these demands are extremely heavy

during the busy jute season and so delays are inevitable.

The amendment of the Tenancy Act is an enormous undertaking; the Bill prepared by the Committee was circulated for opinions and it is now being revised in the light of the criticisms received. The revised draft will be ready before long and it is our intention to introduce it into the Legislative Council as soon as that body shows some indication of its willingness to turn its attention to constructive work and consider any legislative proposals on their merits. I regret to say that I see no such indication at present.

The Landholders' Association complains that the low price of jute has seriously handicapped the cultivation of the crop. But I understand that during 1923 and 1924 the prices have returned to something nearer their normal standard, owing to the removal of those natural causes such as the world wide trade depression following upon the great war, which were mainly responsible for the low prices which prevailed. No doubt better prices still would be obtained, if the raiyats could be organized on a co-operative basis for the sale of jute, but it is for you and other leaders of the public to move in the matter, and I feel sure that the Co-operative Department will be only too glad to place their experience and advice at your disposal.

With regard to the revival of cottage industries in the district, I have asked the Director of Industries to make the necessary enquiries in connection with weaving in the district, and, if he

finds that sufficient demand exists, to open a peripatetic weaving centre in the mufassal area of the district. I have also asked him to get into touch with the Landholders' Association and arrange for a demonstration of the improved spinning wheel and weaving loom, which have been improvised at the Serampore Weaving Institute, as I am told that the use of such improved appliances will be of great benefit to the local gunny weavers.

The Muhammadan Association ask for the grant of a site near the Courts on which they may erect a prayer-house for the convenience of the lawyers and litigants; but I am afraid that to grant you a site in the Court compound would interfere with the future expansion of the Court buildings, and I cannot really admit that there is any great necessity for such a house as you say that there are mosques and prayer-houses within a quarter of a mile of the Court.

The landholders may rest assured that their interests will be carefully guarded by Government, so far as these are compatible with the welfare of the tenants and the good of the community generally; and you can look to the Hon'ble Maharaja of Krishnagar adequately to represent the point of view of the zamindars in my Government. I may also remind you that four landholders' constituencies have been set up for electing representatives of the landholders to the Council, and these representatives should be able to protect your interests and voice your opinions in the Council.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, I desire to supplement the remarks which I made two days ago at Malda on the general political situation. I stated

then that the new Ordinance, which we have recently obtained from the Governor-General and the arrests which we have made under it, are directed not against any popular movement, but against a comparatively small number of persons who in defiance of the law are engaged in a conspiracy of intimidation and murder. I need not repeat what I then said regarding the menace of such a conspiracy to the safety of the State and the liberties of law-abiding citizens. The evidence of its existence and the danger of its spreading by continued recruitment cannot be denied. The need for its suppression cannot be disputed. The only points about which there can be any difference of opinion is whether we have found the true authors of this intimidation and whether the measures we have taken will effectively put an end to their activities. It is to these two points that I wish to direct my remarks to-day.

First, then, with regard to the organizers and members of this terrorist conspiracy. We have arrested altogether and are now detaining as State prisoners 98 men since September last year when we first took action. How can I satisfy you that these men are the organizers of the movement, that they are responsible for the arms that have been imported, the bombs that have been manufactured, the crimes that have been committed, the threats that have been issued, the danger to life and liberty which has been created? "Produce your proofs," I am told, "and we will believe you." Gentlemen, there are some who would believe nothing we might produce. If we produced statements they would say they were lies, if we produced documents

they would say they were forged, if we produced confessions they would say they were extorted by torture. Argument is wasted on such persons and we are not going to endanger the lives of our agents in the vain attempt to satisfy those who do not want to be satisfied. But there are others who are not so prejudiced, who do not believe that we torture innocent men to make them incriminate themselves or others, who do not believe that we tell lies or forge documents, who are satisfied that if we have taken steps which are repugnant to all our political convictions, we must sincerely believe that we are justified by the direst necessity, but who nevertheless think that we may have made mistakes and that the information on which we rely may be either inaccurate or maliciously false. Those are the people whom I desire to satisfy if I can, and it is to them that I now address myself.

I would ask them to accept my assurance that where we are building up a chain of evidence against those who are engaged in a living conspiracy which is continuously in existence there is no possibility of false evidence remaining undiscovered. We do not act on the word of a single informer alone, but the evidence we rely on has been accumulated over many months, has been corroborated by different agents unknown to each other, and only that which will stand the test of time and can be checked by corroborative facts survives. If false evidence is introduced into the chain it is bound to be detected. This fact was brought out clearly in the report of the two High Court Judges who in 1918, examined

I now address myself to the second point. Are our measures likely to prove effective?

As I said at Malda two days ago, if the danger we are faced with arose from a widespread popular movement due to serious political or economic unrest, a different remedy would be required, but as it arises from a comparatively small number of men who have organized themselves for the purposes of intimidation and murder, the only effective remedy is to arrest and detain the leaders and organizers, to segregate and intern the followers, to obtain powers of search without warrant, to deprive those who are engaged in the conspiracy of the power of putting their intimidation into practice and to prevent the spread or the revival of their organization. These were the powers which were provided by the Defence of India Act and they proved completely effective in the past. Every other means was tried over a period of several years, and failed either to suppress or to prevent the growth of the movement. The experience of the past is not an opinion but a fact. It has been said that violence begets violence. That is true and it is those who have adopted violence as their creed and those only, who will suffer by it. No provocative step of any kind has been taken by the Government since I came to Bengal. With the ideals of Indian nationalism I have expressed complete sympathy on every occasion that I have spoken in public. There has been no interference on the part of my Government with the progress of constitutional development. I invited the leader of the *Swarajya* Party to become my Minister. I offered him the opportunity of doing constructive, instead of destructive,

work for his country. My conscience is clear, therefore, that I have done nothing and said nothing to provoke violence, and now that I am threatened with it, I shall not hesitate to suppress it. You may criticise us now on purely theoretical grounds, but you will live to thank us that by our action Bengal has been saved from the horrors of revolutionary crime of which she has had so tragic an experience in the past, that the cause of Indian nationalism in this province has been freed from the stain of blood and that the way has been cleared for ordered and rapid constitutional progress.

***His Excellency's Speech at the St. Andrew's
Day Dinner, on 28th November 1924.***

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the third occasion I have had of appreciating the hospitality of the Caledonian Society, the third cold weather season in Calcutta which I have seen inaugurated on St. Andrew's Day. That reminds me that I am now half-way through my term of office. I am no longer a trembling new boy in the public school of Bengal, and though not yet a hardened veteran, I have at least become seasoned to abuse. I no longer ask for your indulgence because I have learnt by experience that I can count upon it and in common with the other guests whom you have so graciously included in this toast I know that I am among friends.

As usual, your guests are drawn from all departments of public life in Calcutta. On their behalf I offer you our sincere thanks for the hospitality you have accorded to us and for the cordial way in which you have drunk our health.

Mr. Tassie has very kindly made a personal reference to some of us and there is one to whom my deep sense of personal obligation compels me also to refer. To most of us life is such an unromantic routine, and the daily round of our professional duties so devoid of excitement, that we are drawn to the field of sport for that additional zest which is caused by the element of uncertainty. But there is one of your guests to-night whose

duties are performed under very different circumstances, who for the last two years has even carried his life in his hands. In the name of the citizens of Calcutta I desire to express a tribute of admiration to our Commissioner of Police and to the brave Indian officers who share his risks and so loyally and efficiently support him.

Mr. Tegart, as Mr. Tassie has reminded us, is an Irishman—for all we know he may be a Sinn Féiner at heart. He is the last man, therefore, to be deficient in sympathy with the cause of Indian nationalism, and that any nationalist should mistake him for an enemy and seek his life on that account is only proof of how the strong wine of politics can inflame the passions and cloud the judgment of weak minds. Probably I have more reason than any one in this room to know the extent to which Mr. Tegart has been misjudged, the dangers which he runs, the cool courage with which he performs his duty, and I can never adequately express to him my gratitude and my admiration. I can only say that I feel it an honour to be in his company and to be able to number him among my friends.

Gentlemen, the claim of your Society to inaugurate the cold weather season at Calcutta appears to have been disputed this year by two other pretenders to the title, and I fear that one member of my Government, though he comes from Aberdeen and is a member of your Society, may be prepared to support their claim, for "there is a rumour" (as they say in this country) that he left Darjeeling rather hurriedly at the end of

October to attend one of the opening meets of Messrs. Firpo or Peliti's new enterprise. Nevertheless, though I am only a poor Englishman, I am prepared to maintain that the honour of opening the season in the social-political world of Calcutta is not likely ever to be wrested from this annual function so long as the British connection with India is maintained.

Mr. Tassie who has proposed this toast in such gracious terms, has sympathized with me on two grounds—the first is that I have to spend so much of my time in protecting Bengal from her politicians instead of getting on with constructive work. I am grateful for his sympathy, but I assure him that this experience does not either surprise me or distress me as much as he might imagine. I am not surprised, because the power to destroy is inherent in the power to create. Indian politicians are not yet satisfied that they have the power to create and so they are still busy testing their power to destroy. And I am not depressed, because I am convinced that when they become conscious of their freedom to construct they will cease to take pleasure in destruction.

In this connection, I would like to take you into my confidence and tell you the sad story of how I failed to become a watchmaker. When I was about eight years old, I formed a romantic friendship with the local watchmaker who came each week to wind up the clocks in our country house. I so impressed him with my interest in his profession that he decided to make me an apprentice. One week he brought me a watch, and, as the first

step in my training, he showed me how to take it to pieces. Every single part of its mechanism was detached and the separate pieces were left in my charge. He promised when he returned the following week to show me how to put them together again. Unfortunately during his absence my interest in the watch, which we had so effectively destroyed, vanished and gave place to a delighted interest in the fascinating little wheels of which it had been composed. Instead of keeping them carefully shut up in a drawer I played with them, I showed them to a friend who was staying with me, and together we made many things with them that were not watches. By the end of the week I had lost some and broken others and the poor watch was destroyed beyond repair. The clockmaker was deeply shocked at my carelessness and sorrowfully took away as much as remained of the mechanism. My apprenticeship abruptly ended and I lost both my watch and my friend. It is a sad story of the premature termination of a promising career, but it is not without its moral. You see, my *guru* on that occasion clearly acknowledged that I must learn to take to pieces before I could put together, and he gave me to understand that the watch would not be mine till I could do both. Well, the Members of our Legislative Council in Bengal acting on the same principle have taken the ministerial wheels out of the mechanism of the constitution. I only hope that they will be warned by my example and not lose them altogether in the interval, but put them back at the next opportunity.

The second ground of Mr. Tassie's sympathy was, of course, that I have the misfortune not to be born a Scot. This misfortune I share with your English, Irish and Indian guests. In fact, this dinner of the Caledonian Society gives me a greater bond of sympathy with my Indian friends than any other event of the year. To-night we are all outsiders—we share a common inferiority—yet warmed by your kindness and cheered by your hospitable fare, we can contemplate without envy your superior qualities and rejoice that in spite of the misfortune of our birth we are admitted to your friendship.

In my case Mr. Tassie has charitably found one extenuating circumstance in my love of the hills. I hope, therefore, that I may be forgiven, and to show you that I have not killed all my Aides-de-Camp; I have brought one of them with me to-night. If you look at him you will see that he is not even worn to a shadow. But then he is a Scot, and perhaps, that is why he has survived.

Gentlemen, since last we met time has wrought many changes. The familiar and imposing figure of the Maharaja of Burdwan is no longer present. He is busy elsewhere considering, I suppose, what further taxation can be placed upon the jute industry. I greatly miss his wise counsels and genial humour. He has been succeeded by another Maharaja who is showing his capacity to fill the vacancy.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, alas, did not live long enough to accept your hospitality as a Member of my Executive Council. In him I have lost a real personal friend for whom I had a great

affection and one who had placed me under a deep sense of obligation. We were colleagues together at the India Office—he was in fact my first guide and instructor in Indian affairs. In spite of his age and infirmity he did not hesitate to accept new responsibilities when he had earned repose. He died in harness at the end of a long life spent in the service of his country. He was loved by many and honoured and respected by all who knew him.

Another familiar figure that is absent is that of General Cubitt. His breezy speeches have delighted us at these dinners for many years. Calcutta, I am sure, will give a cordial welcome to his successor.

General elections have taken place both in India and in England and have produced sensational results. Last year at this dinner I said that there was no need for alarm because the extremists had gained many seats in Bengal, so this year I would beg my Indian friends to believe that there is no need for alarm because a Conservative Government has been returned to power with an overwhelming majority in England. As I said in 1922, the conservatives are not likely to adopt the revolutionary policy of repealing the constitution which was given to India in 1919. As a Labour Government has had to show that it would not shrink from sanctioning the repression of crime which sought to intimidate them, so a Conservative Government will now have to show, with equal courage, that they will not allow the path of constitutional progress in India to be blocked by the impatient violence of a few extremists.

The Lee Commission has visited India and completed its report in record time. I hope that its

example will be followed by the Government until another record established in the promptness with which its recommendations are acted upon.

I should like to mention two local matters which are of vital interest to the commercial community. I said last year that it was my ambition to pass over the new Howrah Bridge before I left India. I fear that the prospects of realizing my ambition have not improved with the passage of another year. But although the Legislative Council has made no progress with this matter, the Government has not been idle. We have drafted a Bill which has been published and is now ready for discussion in the Council. I should like to make clear what are the respective responsibilities of the Executive and of the Legislature in this matter. It is for the Legislative Council to decide what financial provision should be made for the new bridge. It is for the Government to decide, with the help of expert advice, what is the best type of bridge that can be maintained with the sources of revenue sanctioned by the Legislative Council, and to see that it is completed before the life of the existing bridge comes to an end. We shall carry out our responsibility and we shall try and persuade the Legislative Council to make sufficient financial provision for the best type of bridge. That they should want the cheapest is not unnatural, but I think we shall be able to show, when the matter is debated, that the cantilever type which we recommend will be as economical in the long run as the floating type which has found favour in some quarters.

The other subject I wish to mention is the Grand Trunk Canal. This scheme is also now completely ready and the need for its commencement has become extremely urgent. I myself visited the existing steamer route through the Sundarbans in company with the Chief Engineer last July and the latter returned there with the Maharaja of Krishnagar, the Irrigation Member, a fortnight ago. The river channels on this route are rapidly deteriorating and I am advised that they cannot be kept open without heavy expense for many years longer. We hope, therefore, to proceed with our scheme for the replacement of this route by the Grand Trunk Canal without further delay, and I propose to summon a conference of members of all parties to discuss the matter early in January.

The most important event which has taken place during the year which I am reviewing occurred during the last month, and before I sit down I must say one word about the present political situation and the action which my Government have taken to suppress the terrorist movement in Bengal. When I spoke at this dinner last year I said that there was only one small cloud upon the political horizon. Like the cloud which was first reported to the prophet Elijah as rising out of the sea like a man's hand and then grew until the heaven became black with clouds and wind, so the cloud which I mentioned last year has spread until it has darkened the whole political heaven. Yet I can say with some confidence that the situation is less anxious than it was a year ago. The menace which was then apparent only

to the Government is now clearly seen by every one in Bengal, and whereas a year ago we were powerless to prevent its growth, we are now effectively armed against it. Though we should like to have struck earlier, it is just as well that our weapons were not used till the need for them became generally recognized. In the last few days I have spoken at some length about the nature of the danger with which we have been faced and the object of the action we have taken. I need not repeat those arguments to-night among those who are not likely to question the necessity for exceptional measures to suppress a terrorist conspiracy, but as my words will reach beyond this room, there are a few things which I should like to say about the policy we have adopted.

You remember the parable in the Bible of the husbandman among whose good crops an enemy sowed tares during the night. So it is with the fair garden of Bengal where among the healthy growing plants of constitutional progress enemies have sown under cover of darkness the rankest, most poisonous, most choking weed which is to be found in a political garden—namely, the weed of intimidation. Mr. C. R. Das has recently told us that he has noticed these weeds—in fact, he says, that he has seen more of them than we have, and his remedy is that we should give them more sun and water, and he assures us that they will then turn into healthy and harmless plants. That advice, perhaps, seemed to him in keeping with the instructions of the husbandman in the parable, but, as in affairs of State, we cannot wait for the day of judgment to solve our difficulties, we have

preferred to eradicate the weeds before they grew too rampant, and to restrain those who have planted them. Whereupon Mr. Das cries out "You have accepted my diagnosis, but refused my remedy and instead of destroying the weeds you are plucking up my *Swarajya* shoots which are the healthiest plants in the garden." Gentlemen, the reason why I do not accept Mr. Das' remedy is because he is not my gardener and has no responsibility for the consequences of his advice. If he had become my Minister when I gave him the opportunity, and if in that capacity he were now to say "I will be responsible for the lives of our police officers without the use of these powers," then I should be prepared to listen to him. As he refused to take responsibility, he cannot now make it a grievance that his advice is not accepted. It may suit Mr. Das' purpose to say that our action is directed against his party, but the complaint is deprived of all reality when he tells us in the same breath that instead of doing it any harm we have in fact given it a magnificent advertisement. If our object had been what he asserts we should have arrested not three *Swarajist* members of Council, but 40, and effectively removed the obstruction which, he thinks, is so embarrassing to us. Gentlemen, our policy is not directed against Mr. Das' party nor against any other political party working within the constitution for the establishment of a national system of Government in India, but against a terrorist organization which aims at the overthrow of the present Government by force or its coercion, by murder and intimidation. Members of that organization will not be allowed to screen

themselves behind any other political label or obtain immunity by claiming membership of a party which professes to repudiate their methods. The leaders of all political parties in India have a very grave responsibility for the present situation. If they had had the courage to remain true to their publicly-avowed principles of non-violence, if they had said without any qualification—"We have no place for the bomb and the revolver in the nationalist movement, we will not accept the help of those who use them. Whatever the ideals may be of those who use these weapons, they are so damaging to the credit of our cause that we will support any Government, however constituted, in suppressing them." If they had the courage to say that when this menace first made its appearance, there would have been no need now for the special powers we have been forced to use. But instead of doing that they have either condoned the means for the sake of the end or they have allowed themselves to be blackmailed into betraying their principles.

Mr. Das has claimed that freedom is his birthright. Certainly, but it is mine too—it is Mr. Tegar's—and the first birthright of any man is the right to live. Our determination to suppress intimidation is as much in the interest of Mr. Das himself as of any other political leader. The day may come when he himself may be in a responsible position, and opposed by an irreconcilable minority. What would become of his birthright if those who could not accept his policy were to be free to terminate his existence, and where could he turn to protection if Government were not strong enough to afford it. Gentlemen; the

man who yields to intimidation surrenders something more precious than his life.

I came to India in the hope that I might render some small service to the land of my birth. I did not know when I came that it would be my lot to give it the most precious gift which any country can possess, namely, freedom for its citizens living within the law to speak and act in conformity with their conscience. I did not know that during my term of office Bengal would be deprived of this freedom and that it would be my privilege to restore it. But such has been the task which has come to me unsought. I do not shrink from it. And if I accomplish nothing else, I shall be satisfied if when I leave Bengal I can say that I have been able to guarantee to every Government servant and to every law-abiding citizen of Bengal safety in the discharge of his duty and freedom from fear of violence in the pursuit of his lawful business.

***His Excellency's Address to the Recipients
of Sanads at the Durbar held in Calcutta,
on 2nd December 1924.***

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT CHANDI CHARAN
SMRITIBHUSAN,

You have attained eminence as a scholar and writer on Sanskrit and your numerous contributions to Sanskrit learning show great erudition. You are the author of numerous works, some of which are prescribed as text books in Government and private Sanskrit colleges; for the last 36 years you have taught Sanskrit to numbers of students in a *161*, which you established at your own expense; and for many years you have been an examiner for higher subjects in Smriti examinations. You have thus exercised very considerable influence on the maintenance and development of Sanskrit learning and richly earned the title which has been bestowed upon you.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT ASUTOSH SHASTRI,

After a distinguished academic career, you entered Government service as a Professor of Sanskrit in 1895 and you retired last year as Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

As teacher and examiner, you have helped to hand down the best traditions of Sanskrit learning to the younger generation and you have also contributed to the critical literature on the subject.

Your attainments have richly earned for you the title which has now been conferred upon you.

RAI UPENDRA NATH BRAHMACHARI BAHADUR,

Your research work in *Kala-Azar* has been of the utmost value not only to this province, but to India generally, and the treatment which you evolved through that work has deprived the disease of its terrors. You have rightly gained a world-wide reputation. I congratulate you on your achievements and this further recognition which His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to give to your humane work.

KHAN BAHADURS AND RAI BAHADURS.

Once again I have the privilege of distributing the *sanads* and titles which have been conferred on you for services to the State, and I am glad to think that your work has been recognized and rewarded.

RAI MANMATHA NATH PAL BAHADUR,

You have always taken an active part in any movement for the improvement of your village and its neighbourhood, and you have shown special interest in the cause of agricultural education and medical relief, towards both of which you have contributed munificently.

**KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAJI KHONDKAR
MUHAMMAD MOHSEN.**

You, too, have shown that you appreciate your responsibilities as a zamindar by the interest you have taken in your village, as for example, by your contributions towards the establishment of a high school, a *muktab* and a guest-house for Muhammadans. You have also done good work as Honorary Magistrate and Member of the Local Board.

RAI DEBENDRA NATH BASU BAHADUR,

You have rendered 28 years of meritorious service to Government in the Bengal Provincial Service. Your work has been characterized throughout by extreme thoroughness and you rendered excellent service in the settlement of Government lands in the outskirts of Calcutta. Your official superiors have always spoken of your work in the highest terms.

RAI DURGA DAS CHAKRABARTI BAHADUR,

You retired from Government service in 1922 after rendering long and valuable service in the Judicial Department.

RAI SURESH CHANDRA SARKAR BAHADUR,

You have been a Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation for ten years and have shown a deep and enlightened interest in municipal work. As a Medical Practitioner in Calcutta you have brought relief and comfort to the suffering poor.

RAI HARENDRA KUMAR RAY CHAUDHURI BAHADUR.

You have made generous and substantial contributions towards works of public utility in Dacca city and in your own village in Dacca district. You have shown yourself a good landlord and a loyal supporter of Government.

RAI SATISH CHANDRA CHAUDHURI BAHADUR.

Your village in Mymensingh has reason to be grateful to you for your liberality and public spirit. You have built and endowed a hospital there at

the cost of three lakhs and you have thus ensured for the locality the provision of good medical treatment for future generations.

RAI SURENDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

You have had a very wide experience in the Police and you bear a most excellent record. Your service has been throughout of an exceptionally high order and your superior officers have gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness to your industry, tact and grasp of detail. This title is but a fitting recognition of your loyalty, character and straightforwardness.

RAI ROMONI MOHAN BANARJI BAHADUR,

In the 14 years during which you have been conducting cases on behalf of the Crown, you have been associated with some of the longest and most important cases before the Sessions Court at Alipore. and you have always identified yourself heartily with the interests of the Crown even at your own personal risk. Government have found your wide experience, great ability and extraordinary industry of the utmost value.

RAI MANINDRA NATH BANARJI BAHADUR,

Throughout your 33 years of most creditable service in the Postal Department your work has met with the highest commendation from successive Directors-General. Your all-round knowledge of post-office work, and your devotion to duty have made you a very valuable asset to the department in which you have done very fine work.

**KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI KAZI GOLAM MOHIUDDIN
FAROQUI,**

True to the traditions of your historic family you have always taken an active interest in public affairs in your district of Tippera, where you have constantly supported educational and charitable institutions. Nor have you confined your interests to matters of local importance, but you have shown the same spirit towards your responsibilities as a Member of the Legislative Council. You have always used your influence on the side of law and order and consistently acted in what you believe to be the best interests of your country.

RAI RAMJIDAS BAJORIA BAHADUR,

Yourself a leading member of the Marwari Association and President of the Marwari School Committee you have always taken the lead in matters pertaining to the good of your community. You contributed ten thousand rupees towards the Marwari School, you founded a rest-house at Sahibganj, and you established a charitable institution at Hardwar. You were one of the organizers of the Calcutta Marwari Hospital, towards the establishment of which you yourself made a donation of two lakhs and raised a further sum of one lakh and eighty thousand from members of your community. You were for 18 years an Honorary Magistrate of Howrah.

RAI HARENDRA NATH DAS BAHADUR,

By your untiring devotion and public spirit you materially helped to raise the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, to its present eminence. The

outdoor dispensary of this institution was built, and maintained by funds obtained solely through your influence. You also secured endowments towards the college itself and towards the Eye Hospital at the Calcutta Medical College. You may justly be proud of your achievements.

RAI SURENDRA NARAYAN SINHA BAHADUR,

You have shown your public spirit as Honorary Magistrate, Chairman of the Azimganj Municipality and Secretary of the Co-operative Bank, and your influence and leadership have been of great value.

The liberal donations which you have made towards the cause of education indicate that you are a generous and progressive zamindar.

KHAN BAHADURS AND RAI BAHADURS,

I congratulate you on the titles which you have won, and I trust that you will long be spared to enjoy them and to give your fellow-countrymen the benefit of your experience and help.

KHAN SAHIB AND RAI SAHIBS,

I am glad of the opportunity this occasion gives me of paying a tribute to the work you have done for the public good in your various spheres of activity.

RAI SAHIB KUNJA BIHARI BASU,

You retired from the Education Department over 40 years ago and since then you have rendered good and efficient service as Honorary Magistrate. You have been a Member of the Education Committee of your District Board and have filled

various other honorary offices. Increasing years have not diminished your enthusiasm or your efficiency.

KHAN SAHIB MAULVI HAFIZ NAZIR AHMAD,

You have shown yourself a good oriental scholar and have done research work for the Asiatic Society; but you have not confined your attention to learning. For you proved yourself a force in combating the non-co-operation movement.

RAI SAHIB RADHA GOVINDA KUNDU,

Your service has been a record of long and meritorious work. Your experience and ability have always been of the greatest assistance, and conspicuously so in 1922, when you skilfully suppressed a serious outbreak of dacoity in the Patuakhali Subdivision.

RAI SAHIB DIBAKAR DE,

You have a long record of professional service in the Veterinary Department in which you have shown great proficiency; and for the last ten years you have carried out your duties as Assistant Principal of the Bengal Veterinary College with industry and merit.

RAI SAHIB PROBODH CHANDRA CHATARJI,

After a long and good record in the Registration Department, you retired a year ago from the appointment of Registrar of Assurances in Calcutta, a position in which you acquitted yourself with marked credit.

RAI SAHIB JNANENDRA NATH GHOSH,

You have worked with credit and distinction, both as Sub-Inspector and Inspector in every branch of police duties and have invariably shown yourself an officer of great ability and unimpeachable integrity. Your skill in detective work has been of special value.

RAI SAHIB UPENDRA NATH KANJILAL,

Since you joined the Eastern Bengal Railway 36 years ago, you have worked with energy and loyalty. You have shown yourself full of resource and prepared for every emergency—as for instance, when during a serious outbreak of Cholera at Kauchrapara you arranged for medical attendance and the removal of the dead, or when you rose from a sick bed to quell a disturbance amongst the staff and thus averted a strike.

RAI SAHIB MONINDRA NATH BHATTACHARJI,

Joining the Eastern Bengal Railway 34 years ago, you served for 23 years in the Cash Office passing through the various grades until you became Assistant Pay Master. Since 1913, you have been Treasurer on the East Indian Railway, a most responsible position, the duties of which you have carried out with marked efficiency.

RAI SAHIB BENI MADHAB MITRA,

Your 21 years' superior service in the Postal Department has been a continuous record of hard and honest work, and you have given every satisfaction both to your superior officers and to the public.

RAI SAHIB NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BASU,

During the last six and-a-half years of your service you have been closely associated with the organization and direction of the co-operative movement in Bengal, both as Personal Assistant to the Registrar and as Assistant Registrar. Your work in these capacities has been pre-eminently good and you have succeeded in winning and retaining the confidence of all classes with whom you came in contact.

RAI SAHIB MAHENDRA NATH MUKHARJI,

You joined the Police 32 years ago and rose to be Assistant Commissioner in the Calcutta Police in 1920. In the following year you were awarded the King's Police Medal. You possess detective ability of a high order and you have won the respect and esteem of the public.

RAI SAHIB RAJENDRA NATH BHATTACHARJI,

Besides doing good work as Superintendent of the Ripon College and School, you have long shown your interest in local municipal administration and in the improvement of public health and education.

RAI SAHIB KHETRA MOHAN GANGULI,

You have won a reputation for sound work and good judgment, and while you were on the staff of the Provincial Police Training College, you made a most successful instructor. In other directions also you have been of considerable value to the department in the course of your long and faithful service.

RAI SAHIB JNANENDRA CHANDRA GUHA,

Your work, too, as Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Prisons, has been consistently characterized by a high standard of excellence under most trying and difficult circumstances.

RAI SAHIB HARIDAS BANARJI,

This title is a mark of appreciation of the long and faithful service, which you have given to Government; as Head Assistant in his office, you have been of great value to the Director of Agriculture in recent years, and your meritorious work has been highly commended.

KHAN SAHIB AND RAI SAHIBS.

I congratulate you on the titles which you have received and I trust you will long be spared to enjoy them.

Mr. John Robson,

Since its formation in 1906, the Bengal Smoke Nuisances Committee has been conspicuously successful in reducing the smoke nuisances. You have been engaged from the beginning as Chief Inspector and Technical Adviser to the Committee, and its success has been due in very great measure to your tact, experience and unremitting exertions. I congratulate you on the medal which His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to grant you in recognition of your work.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Durbar
held at Calcutta, on 2nd December
1924.***

GENTLEMEN,

It is not my usual practice to make a speech at these Durbars. I have never done it before. But you will agree with me I think that if the Governor of the province has a message which he wishes to convey to the public, he cannot do better than to speak it in open Durbar. Of all the opportunities available to me of speaking in public this is the most appropriate for the particular subject which it is in my mind to speak about. Here I am addressing no local audience or particular section of the public, but representatives of all classes, all interests, all communities in the province and the subject I have to speak about is nothing less than the welfare of Bengal as a whole.

I have recently made three speeches dealing with the terrorist conspiracy in Bengal and with the action which my Government has taken to suppress it. In those speeches I dealt in detail with different aspects of the question. I placed before the public most of the facts relevant to its consideration and most of the arguments in justification of our action. At Malda, I explained the nature of the menace with which we were threatened. I produced evidence of the existence of a terrorist movement; I showed how it had grown in the last 18 months; I enumerated its

characteristics and explained how destructive they were of all political liberty; finally, I expressed the determination of my Government to exterminate it by the only means which were effective for the purpose.

At Dinajpur, two days later. I dealt at length with the question whether or not we had discovered and arrested the real authors and members of this conspiracy, and whether the powers under the new Ordinance, which we had asked for and obtained, and which it is our intention at the earliest possible moment to replace by a local Statute, were or were not the best remedy for the trouble. I explained how we had the experience of the past to guide us in these two matters; how the measures we were now taking had been the only effective ones in the past and how, whereas, largely owing to the delay in using them, Government had then had to arrest and intern as many as 1,200 persons, the fact that they had taken the right men was not now seriously disputed by any one.

At the St. Andrew's Day Dinner in Calcutta last Friday, I dealt with Mr. C. R. Das' complaint that I had accepted his diagnosis and refused his remedy: I denied the allegation that our action was directed against any political party and I pointed out the responsibility attaching to the leaders of all political parties who, though paying lip service to non-violence, had never repudiated the help of those who used the bomb and the revolver, but had accepted them in the expressive phrase recently used by one newspaper as the "Sappers and Miners of the Constitutional Army."

In these three speeches I thus dealt with particular features of the question. To-day I propose to deal finally with the question as a whole and to refer to some of the comments which have been made on my previous speeches.

The first question; then, is—does a terrorist conspiracy exist? What has been the comment on this point? It is that I have wasted my breath in trying to prove what needs no proof and is no longer disputed. Well, that is something gained: I shall waste no more breath on this subject. But before I leave it I must point out that when I first told the public of the existence of this terrorist movement and warned them that we were threatened with a revival of the horrors which they had experienced from 1912 to 1918, I was not believed. I was told that this was a false alarm raised by the police to justify their existence; I was told that the crimes which had been committed had no political significance, but had been committed for private gain by members of the *bhadralog* class driven to desperation by unemployment and economic distress. It has not taken long for the public to learn and to admit that I was right and my only regret is that it has needed the lives of some innocent men and some guilty ones to establish the truth of what I pointed out a year ago.

The next question is—now that it is admitted that this terrorist movement exists, how is it to be suppressed? My critics tell me that the right remedy for political crime is to pursue it by means of the ordinary law, and the only effective preventive of it is to concede the demands of those who resort to it. Unfortunately for their case

experience is against them. I need not refer to the experience of other countries which may not be familiar to them, except to say that in no civilized country and under no form of Government, whether autocratic, bureaucratic or democratic, has their remedy for this particular evil ever been found effective. I will only remind you of the experience of Bengal, an experience which is within the memory of everyone whom I am addressing. In the early years of the last revolutionary movement, the ordinary law was used as often as possible, but it proved wholly inadequate. Apart from the murder of investigating officers, of witnesses and of approvers the published testimony of the revolutionaries themselves show that for the purpose of preventing the growth of the movement and the spread of intimidation it was absolutely useless. It was not until the Defence of India Act gave to the Government the same powers which we have obtained under the recent Ordinance that the movement of that day was suppressed. We ourselves have had recourse to the ordinary law in the last two years and we have found it equally ineffective. If men can be murdered even on mere suspicion of having made confessions or supplied information, what hope is there that others will dare to face publicity? No court, which cannot guarantee immunity to the witnesses that testify before it, can be expected to arrive at the truth in political cases. Those who urge us to have recourse to the ordinary Courts of Justice have no power to guarantee the safety of the witnesses we might produce. The Courts of Justice themselves have no such power and have no responsibility for

any harm that may come to those who testify before them. That responsibility rests with the Executive Government alone and as head of the Executive in Bengal, I say finally and definitely that we will not produce our witnesses before any tribunal unless we can guarantee their safety if they speak the truth. A suggestion has been made in some quarters that we should submit our evidence in secret to one or two impartial men whose verdict would carry greater weight than our own.

This is a very plausible suggestion and one which I cannot lightly reject. But there is one very obvious objection to the form in which it is made. The responsibility for executive action must rest with the Executive Government—it cannot be devolved upon any one else. Even the Legislature has no responsibility for the selection of the individuals who have been arrested. Therefore, I say the Government of Bengal could never divest themselves of the responsibility which is theirs and theirs alone for the selection they have made. But I may be told that the Government often seeks the advice of unofficial committees and commissions in a variety of public matters. I agree, but that is always when Government themselves have some doubt as to the course they should adopt or desire more information before acting. If the Executive cannot be trusted to carry out its responsibility—there is only one remedy, namely, to change it. Since in India, however, the Executive Government is irremovable, it is not unreasonable to suggest that it should at least seek the advice of those who possess a larger measure of

public confidence than they do themselves. But here a practical difficulty at once arises. Who is to decide the personnel of these assessors? The Government naturally should select its own advisers, but if they are not trusted neither will be the men of their choice. Government, however, cannot be expected to seek the advice of their political opponents, and none but their own nominees would satisfy such opponents. The belief that there are men in India or in any country in the world who, in a matter of acute political controversy, are free from any political bias whose impartiality is unquestioned by any one and whose verdict would be accepted by all is unfortunately the dream of a visionary and entirely at variance with the realities of life.

Now let me deal with the second argument that the only way to prevent the use of the bomb and the revolver is to concede the demands of those who use them. I admit, and I have already acknowledged in public, that the business of statesmen is not merely to enforce the law and to punish those who break it, but also to investigate the causes which drive normally law-abiding persons to break the law. I do not shirk my responsibility in this matter and I do not claim that my duty ceases with the suppression of crime and intimidation. If it could be said with truth that nationalist aspirations in India were discouraged and checked, that all progress in the development of the constitution was blocked, that all channels of constitutional agitation were closed, that all reasonable demands were refused, that no redress of grievances was possible, that after years of patient

and peaceful effort the people in their desperation had at last been driven to violent courses by an utterly unsympathetic and tyrannical Government. that would not justify the crimes, but it would at least cause the Government to forfeit the sympathy and support which they are otherwise entitled to expect from law-abiding citizens. The use of such an argument in Bengal to-day is absolutely impossible. It would be historically untrue and in flat contradiction of the known features of the present political situation. The ideals and aspirations of Indian nationalists far from being discouraged have been accepted by the Government as their own; progress in constitutional reform instead of being blocked has in recent years been so great that many Indians have doubted whether it did not go too far at one step; avenues of constitutional agitation instead of being closed have been greatly widened and extended; not only reasonable demands, but some that were thought unreasonable by many Indians in 1919 have been granted not even with any finality, but as instalments to the further consideration of those that still remain unsatisfied: opportunities for the remedy of political and economic grievances never before available have been created. Never in the history of any country was there less justification for political crime than there is in Bengal to-day. That is why I said at Malda that the present terrorist conspiracy was not a popular movement.

It has been suggested that when I went on to say there that threats of violence had been used even against candidates to, and members of, the Legislative Council, I was referring only to

Red Bengal leaflets the existence of which was first said to be an invention of the police and which opponents of the Government have found it convenient to ignore or to laugh at. No gentlemen, it was not to these leaflets that I was referring, but to letters addressed to the recipients threatening them with assassination if they did not withdraw their candidature or vote as they were bidden. And as might be expected, so rapidly does this foul poison of intimidation spread when once it has been proved effective, it has even found its way into the municipal affairs of the mufassal which have not the remotest connection with the presence of British officials in India or the form of the Constitution.

The suggestion, therefore, which has been made that the evil is due to the bitterness of heart of a patient people long denied the smallest encouragement in their struggle for freedom, and that it would disappear if Government would show more sympathy is wholly false and palpably disproved by facts which are known to everyone. Many of the genuine revolutionaries of the old days have admitted that the declaration of 1917 and the Act of 1919 entirely removed the grounds of their former methods of agitation, and that if the present opportunities for constitutional agitation had then existed, they would never have resorted to violence. The only points on which opinion is now divided—and I admit, of course, sharply and even bitterly divided—are not the ultimate goal but the rate of advance and the stages by which the goal may be reached. The use of the bomb and the revolver, therefore, by those

who are dissatisfied either with the rate of progress or the value of the present stage in the reform of the Constitution, is nothing less than political blackmail, and any Government which tolerated it would forfeit its right to exist. It is a universal experience in public and in private affairs that surrender to blackmail does not cause it to cease but perpetuates it.

I need say no more on this subject and my last words are not to the small group of terrorists on whom argument is wasted, but to the large body of men who are as much opposed as I am both to a policy of repression and to the violence and intimidation which make it necessary. I beg all such not to be discouraged, and not to fear that we shall lose our faith in the ultimate achievement of responsible self-government in India or weary in our efforts to bring it about by all the means in our power. The present crisis must necessarily render our task more difficult, because of the bitterness which it has inevitably engendered. The first step towards reconciliation and advance must be to bring about conditions which will make it safe to release those whom we have been obliged to arrest, and I should like to make clear what those conditions are.

The first is to make sure that those who organize and direct this terrorist movement have been restrained from employing their methods of intimidation. The second is to deprive them of the weapons on which they rely to make those methods effective. It has been stated in many quarters that the fact that we have made no large captures of arms or explosives is proof of their

non-existence. This is a plausible argument, but again it is disproved by facts. The existence of these arms and explosives is proved by the fact of their use. All the outrages that have taken place have been committed with automatic pistols of foreign manufacture that could not be legally obtained in India and must, therefore, have been smuggled into the country from abroad, or with bombs of a new type that have recently been manufactured. If the searches which took place on October 25th did not lead to the discovery of secret stores of these weapons, that is because the police on that occasion were mainly occupied with the capture of the members of the conspiracy. Isolated weapons they might possibly have found, but it was not likely after the prominence which had lately been given to the seriousness of the movement and the necessity for some action to suppress it, that any stock of weapons or incriminating material would be kept in premises liable at any moment to be raided by Government. But although the first step was to secure the men, the capture of their weapons is, as I have said, a necessary preliminary to the consideration of their release. The third and last indispensable condition is the passage of the Bill which we shall introduce into the Legislative Council to take the place of the Ordinance. When that Bill has become law and we have an effective means of preventing the revival of violent methods, we can then begin the process of reviewing the cases of those whom we have arrested with a view to restoring to them their liberty. Those who wish for the early release of the State

prisoners should, therefore, help us to satisfy these three conditions at the earliest possible moment.

Gentlemen, I said a year ago, and I must again repeat to-day, that the measures we have taken cannot be successful unless we have public opinion behind us. If the public opinion of Bengal really approves of this campaign of intimidation the existence of which is no longer denied; if they want to return to the horrors of the years 1912 to 1918; if they are content to let their young men be drawn into this movement and allow their passions to be inflamed and their minds poisoned with revolutionary and anarchical doctrines until they wake up one morning to find, perhaps, one of their own sons in the dock for the murder either of some public official or of some innocent victim whom he has mistaken for one—if that is the general public feeling in Bengal, then we shall fail. But if, as I believe, you all want to see this movement suppressed, if you are determined that the horrors of the past shall not be repeated, even though you may doubt our ability to achieve this object and have not complete confidence in our selection of the men involved, then we shall succeed and as soon as this evil has become a thing of the past we shall be able to proceed with our interrupted progress along the path we have agreed to follow.

For the use we may make of the special powers we have asked for to deal with a special menace to the welfare of the State we are and must be alone responsible, but whether or not we are to have any special powers is a matter in which the Legislature must have a share of responsibility. The Bill

which we shall submit at an early date to the Legislative Council will impose upon its members a very severe trial and test to the utmost their capacity to put the supreme interests of the State above all other considerations. I am confident that they will face it, with a due sense of responsibility.

Gentlemen, my last words to you, and through you to the people of Bengal are these :—Those who conscientiously believe that we have taken the wrong course and that the growth of political blackmail can best be checked by concessions to its demands cannot, of course, support us and I respect their opposition. My appeal is not to them but to those who know in their hearts that we are right, who believe that the suppression of intimidation is a necessary preliminary to a free discussion of constitutional progress and that toleration of all opinions lawfully expressed is an indispensable condition of political freedom. On their support we have a right to count. If they, though agreeing with us, have not the courage to stand by our side, they will weaken the claim of their countrymen to be entrusted with further responsibility. It is a supreme opportunity, and I am confident that in this hour of political trial Bengal will emerge triumphant.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize distribution of the St. Xavier's College, on 8th December 1924.

FATHER RECTOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I was very sorry that I could not attend your prize-giving last year, and I am glad that you have renewed your invitation this year and given me an opportunity of at last making the acquaintance of your college.

I have already learnt a great deal about the splendid work of the Jesuits of the Belgian Mission in the cause of education and have often visited their great school of St. Joseph's at Darjeeling. I, therefore, expect great things of St. Xavier's and I have not been disappointed.

From the report of the Rector and from all I have learnt from my own educational advisers it has been made clear to me that this institution has the highest traditions and that the present generation of students is worthily maintaining them.

It is of special interest to me to learn that my father presided at a similar ceremony 47 years ago and that his words on that occasion are still remembered. I should, indeed, be proud if I could think that my visit to you to-day would also be remembered 50 years hence.

The interesting report to which we have just listened mentions the loss sustained by the death of

Father Francotte, Father Lowyck and Brother Henry Sabaa. Their loss is felt outside as well as inside these walls. Father Francotte's meteorological notes were read with interest by the public, and his name was a household word in Bengal. In him all Bengal and not only St. Xavier's has sustained the loss of a real devotee of science. Father Lowyck was renowned as a great parish priest, a friend of the Entally poor, and a lover of music, to whom the College Band owed much. Brother Henry Sabaa's death was felt by many generations of St. Xavier boys as a personal loss. It is a consolation to know that the work of these devoted men lives after them, and that St. Xavier's will not easily forget them.

I am glad that we were able to increase our grant-in-aid to the college by Rs. 600 a month last year. This was, of course, a grant to Indian education, since the College Section of the institution is mainly taken advantage of by Indians. The grant has been fully justified by the use made of it, for I understand that the authorities have taken the opportunity thus afforded them of increasing the pay of the Indian staff and establishing a provident fund for them; I trust that this has gone at least some way to render their prospects reasonable. I feel sure that the improvement will result in increased contentment, and thereby in increased efficiency though at the same time I am aware that you desire further help in order to make still further progress in the same direction. On the enthusiasm and happiness of the staff must very largely depend the success of such an institution as yours. I know that enthusiasm is not

lacking; for, apart from the Indian members for whose interests the authorities of the college have recently, with the help of Government, been able to do much, and who, I am sure, are devoted to the interests of the institution, I must not forget that there is a European staff of considerable size, men who have made education their life work—a labour of love. Here you have 14 reverend fathers placing their culture, their moral earnestness, their love for God and man, their passion for the good of humanity at the service of 1,474 young men who are being trained in the school or college for the duties of life, a very definite majority of them Indians, strangers to themselves in blood and religion. Surely this fact should give us food for reflection. The labourer is worthy of his hire, but these men, devoted like so many previous generations of your order, since the days of your revered founder to the service of humanity and of India give Bengal annually a free gift of services incalculable in value, and not to be measured in money. Receiving little but bare sustenance and clothes, working not for salaries but for their order and all that it implies, they make a valuable contribution to Bengal's educational resources, which, it is to be hoped, Bengal values. And I feel sure Bengal does value it. The provision made in the budget for European schools is sometimes criticized as being over-generous. but when it is borne in mind, how much money, how many valuable lives have been and are still being placed at the disposal of Indian education by missionary educational effort, we, perhaps, discover the reason why, with one exception, a Council, predominantly Indian

in character, has voted all the grants required for the education of European and Anglo-Indians.

St. Xavier's carries on a long tradition of devoted educational service to India on the part of the missionary bodies. I need not repeat to-day all that the Calcutta University Commission wrote about missionary colleges in general and St. Xavier's in particular. One of the finest tributes which the Commission paid to the missionary teachers was when they said after comparing them with the old Hindu *guru*: "The value of the contribution made by the missionary teachers to the life of the University, can scarcely be overestimated." This tribute is as true to-day as it was then. One criticism which the Commission then made is now being partly met. They said that few boys go from the school to the University or College Department because the school does not prepare for the Matriculation, a feature which mainly affected boys of the European and domiciled communities who predominate in the school. But this year, I understand, that twenty or so of the candidates who passed the Cambridge Local Examinations were admitted into the college—a proof that there is no obstacle on the part of the University to the admission of Cambridge Local students, and that there is nothing to prevent an able Anglo-Indian youth from entering the University.

This is a satisfactory feature, for if they are to hold their own in the battle of life, if they wish to take an active part in the conduct of public life, the members of the Anglo-Indian community

must make more use than they do now of University education. We see that the Cambridge examinations can be made to lead to the University and are no bar to admission to higher studies in Bengal. I say this without prejudice to the other view, which, I am told, some of the members of the community hold, and which one school has put into practice already, that the community should abandon the Cambridge Examination and adopt those of the University from the Matriculation stage upwards. I do not judge between these competing views, but merely express my pleasure at learning that some Anglo-Indian boys are, through the medium of your institution, proceeding to those higher studies which are essential to the community's future well being in the more strenuous conditions of to-day.

The report of the Rector also gives a very satisfactory account of the current activities of the school and college and shows, if I may say so, that at St. Xavier's the various aspects of school and college life are regarded in their true perspective. Boys go to school and thence to college to obtain the requisite education and training, for mind, character and body—intellectual, moral and physical—but many schools in India are too apt to lose sight of the second and third aspects.

I should like to conclude by addressing a few words to the students on these three aspects of their school and college life—

- (1) As regards the training of the mind—the purely intellectual side of your life here. the point I would like to emphasize is

that your aim when you come here should not be the passing of examinations alone, not the acquisition of certificates and degrees, but the development of your brains. A college should aim at turning out not graduates merely, but men capable of independent thought—or rather their teaching and their examinations should be so devised as to ensure that those who obtain their degrees can be guaranteed capable of thinking for themselves and not only of repeating the thoughts of others. This ideal is far from being realized in India as yet and that is due to defects in the system of examination. Though it may not be possible for the teaching staff of an institution like this to change the methods of examination, they can do much to improve the methods of teaching, and I would beg them to impress upon all their students that the function of the college is not to get them through this or that examination, but to train them for life. From all I can learn your work in the class-rooms appears to be of a high order and reflects great credit on the teaching staff. I hope that the remarkable successes in examinations, which the Rector has been able to report, shows that the students of St. Xavier's have been taught to think for themselves and have acquired knowledge in such a way as to develop their own power of reason and judgment.

- (2) As regards the physical aspect there is really nothing to be said except to congratulate you on the opportunities which St. Xavier's provides for healthy outdoor games and on the admirable use you have made of them.
- (3) These games, however, play a very important part in the third aspect of your college life about which I want to speak—namely, the building up of character. This college and school have a reputation of continuous success in the playing fields. I am particularly glad to learn, however, that success and victory have not been the main object in your games, but that the development of a sporting spirit has been your chief ideal. You have learnt here what you will find equally true in after-life that a game well played, whatever be the result, need never be regarded as lost. The Rector has mentioned two features of a sound moral training in which games play a great part. One is the recognition of community obligation and community discipline,—to play for one's side and not for oneself. If you can learn this lesson thoroughly while you are here, you will be the better able hereafter to serve the interests of the wider communities of which you will become members. The other lesson which the Rector claims you are taught on the playing field is to accept without question the decision of the Umpire. Let me suggest to you how

you can test yourselves in this lesson. The supreme test of a true sporting spirit and of a strong moral character is if you can be given "out" wrongly and yet accept the decision without protest and without complaint. It is easy enough to walk 'back to the pavilion without a murmur when you know that your leg was before the wicket or that you had touched the ball that was caught by the wicket-keeper, though even that standard of sportsmanship is not always acquired. But to accept the verdict of "out" equally philosophically when you know that it was not deserved is a harder test—yet that is the tradition of the game which all who play cricket have to learn.

Again in the affairs of life it is easy to speak the truth when you will derive advantage from so doing, but to acquire the reputation for speaking the truth fearlessly when the consequences will be injurious to you is an achievement at which I hope you will aim. Nothing else which you can learn here will give you so great an influence over your fellowmen or earn for you more surely their respect. If St. Xavier's can give you these qualities, it will have given you something more precious than a knowledge of letters or science, and by showing such qualities throughout your life you will bring more honour to your school than by winning any scholarship. Scholarship may not be within the reach of you all, but the formation of a character worthy of an old Xavierian need be missed by none.

I will say no more. I congratulate you on the successes that you have attained and on maintaining the high reputation of this college and school. I wish you God-speed in your work in all its branches and I trust that here in your institution, Indian and European, may in the future work together in that harmony and co-operation which has characterized your work in the past and which is so urgent and pressing a need, not only in the small world of the college and school, but in the political and social world outside your walls.

***His Excellency's Speech at the laying of
the Foundation-stone of the Islamia
College, on 9th December 1924.***

SIR ABDUR RAHIM AND GENTLEMEN—

To-day we celebrate the beginning of the realization in concrete form of a desire which has occupied the minds of the Moslem community of Bengal for well nigh half a century. It is 43 years since the idea of establishing a special college for Moslems was first mooted. In partial compliance with the wishes of the community intermediate classes were attached to the Calcutta Madrassa in 1883; those classes existed for 26 years, and were only abolished at the time of the reorganization of the University of Calcutta. How keenly the Moslems felt that blow, which followed upon the recommendations of the University Commission of 1902 and the new Regulations which ensued, was made clear in the meeting held at the Town Hall in February 1909, presided over by the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, which considered the situation created by the new Regulations. At that meeting many wise words were spoken or read out, among which I would specially select the letter written to the meeting by the Nawab Imadul Muik Syed Husain Bilgrami, Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India—

“It seems to me that the way to get the Madrassa recognized by the University is to work it up to the standard. I hope you are not going to ask for it as a favour.”

I, would recall those words of 15 years ago as pertinent to-day. The college, of which it is my pleasant duty to lay the foundation-stone to-day, will be one which will face the world on its own merits, will meet all University standards, and will rise to those higher standards which, we all hope, will be prescribed in due course as a result of the wise counsel given us by Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues. So at least I hope and believe and such I know is the intention and desire of all Moslems who aspire to a position in the Bengal of to-morrow where they will not need to ask for special consideration on account of their backward condition, but will be able by virtue of their abilities, their training, and their influence to take the position in the public life of the province to which their numbers entitle them.

The meeting to which I have referred reiterated the desire of Moslems for a first-grade college, and recommended that the Calcutta Madrassa itself should be raised to the status of a college. This was a difficult demand. The Calcutta Madrassa is the home of Islamic studies of the traditional type upon which it is difficult to superimpose any scheme of higher studies which would meet University standards. It contains also a high school of the modern type, the Anglo-Persian Department, and the demand amounted to the suggestion to improve this section of the Madrassa into a college. This was difficult, because one of the cardinal features of University Reform in 1909 was the separation of school and college education. It was clearly seen that what was really needed was not so much the conversion of the Madrassa into

a college, as the creation of an entirely new institution which would meet the needs of the time, and that this was impossible, if the Madrassa alone was considered. This was the view adopted when the Government of Bengal took up the question, and in 1915 it took the wise step of acquiring the site upon which we are standing, and upon which nine years later we are about to build this Islamia College. The site cost Government well over a lakh of rupees, but it was money well invested.

The nine years' delay, which I with you all regret, was due to two causes. In the first place, the great war reduced the Government of Bengal, as it did all Governments, to great financial straits, and the project could not be immediately carried into effect. In the second place, the later years of this war period were in Bengal as in England years of great searching of heart in matters educational. Some people considered the construction of new colleges in the congested area of Calcutta a mistake and others actually advocated the removal of the whole University, lock, stock and barrel to the suburbs. If the University were to be removed, obviously it would have been a mistake to build in Wellesley Street. The Commissioners, however, came to the conclusion that in the modern world a city of the magnitude of Calcutta must have a University within its borders as part of its civic endowment. There were others who thought that communal institutions might be condemned by the Commission, and this would have been equally fatal to the scheme. Government, therefore, felt bound to wait, while the Commission performed those tours and pursued those investigations, lasting

over two years, which resulted in its epoch-making report. Here again Moslem fears were found to be groundless. The Commission wrote these words which all Moslem doubtless value as the "Magna Charta" of their scheme: "We desire to emphasize the importance, under the conditions now existing in Calcutta, of the establishment of an Islamia College for Muslim students, where opportunities for religious observance and instruction might be made available. The question has been specially referred to us. . . . We have no hesitation in saying that we regard the establishment of such a college as a real and important need. . . . We recognize with the greatest respect that one of the reasons which have hitherto prevented Musalmans from taking full advantage of the opportunities of University training has been their belief that religious influence is an indispensable element in any sound system of education. Such a college, as we have suggested, would meet this difficulty."

The long delay which took place was, therefore, both for administrative and for financial reasons imperative. That this weary period of waiting has at last been brought to an end is due to the energy of my late Minister Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq who, though his ministry was short and marked by disappointments, can legitimately pride himself on this great and solid achievement of his brief period of control. Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq has generously testified elsewhere to the loyal support which he received from his subordinate officials, secretarial and departmental, and I think, 'if proof' were needed, the quick revival and speedy elaboration

of this project into a concrete scheme adapted to present-day conditions shows that the officials concerned threw themselves with a will into the work.

I am particularly glad that it has fallen to my lot to take part in the practical initiation of this scheme for this is the third occasion in my life on which I have been able to raise my voice in favour of the admission to the benefits of a University training of those who have been previously excluded from it by reason of their religious convictions. Though I am one of those who believe that a University education is by its very nature opposed to sectarian influences and that its benefits can only be felt not by the segregation of its students, but by the complete intermixing of men of all faiths, yet very early in life I came to see the mistake of pressing this doctrine to the length of excluding from a University altogether those whose convictions required some religious atmosphere of their own faith to surround them. One of the first debates in which I took part at the Cambridge Union was on a motion, which I defended, to grant recognition within the University to a Roman Catholic hostel for the training of young men destined for the priesthood. The second occasion came a few years later when I supported Mr. George Wyndham, whose Private Secretary I then was, in his efforts to establish a Roman Catholic University in Ireland—a country which was predominantly Catholic and for whose young men the only University available was predominantly Protestant in its atmosphere. On

both, these occasions I was shocked by the intolerance of those who opposed such steps in the name of liberalism.

That I appreciate the proper function of a University is clear, I hope, from what I said at the last Convocation of Calcutta University when I invited the professors of the University to ask themselves carefully whether they had mingled their students sufficiently in their University life, or whether they had allowed them to meet for the first time in the examination hall. But the same grounds which led me both at Cambridge and in Ireland to desire the admission to the benefits of a University education of the Roman Catholics, who required some atmosphere of their own religious faith, compel me now to support a similar desire on the part of the Muhammadans of Bengal. The motive which inspires the Moslem demand for a special college of their own, is one which cannot fail to appeal to one brought up in the educational atmosphere of England, and which all men, whatever creed they may profess, cannot but respect. The Moslem community has suffered for decades through its neglect to take advantage of the new learning and system of education which came into India during the nineteenth century. Moslem dislike of the modern system of education has been ascribed to many causes by different observers, but all of them have united in pointing to the absence from the system of religious training as one of the most potent causes. In this Islamia College, that desire of the Moslem community will be met, and what Sir William Hunter described as a most powerful instinct of

the Musalman heart will receive permanent and abiding satisfaction. That feeling which possibly still lurks in rural parts of Moslem Bengal that English education is not the education of a gentleman, that through it even though a Moslem may gain the whole world, he may lose his own soul, will surely disappear for ever when he sees this building in its final splendour, and realizes that culture, though in modern form, can still be the handmaid of religion, and can co-operate with it here in Calcutta in producing in large numbers for the service of Bengal that type which has played its part on many stages in the past, and has yet, I believe, a great part to play,—the cultured Moslem gentleman.

I have another personal reason for welcoming this opportunity of encouraging the admission of Moslems in larger numbers to the benefits of a University education. On January 8th, 1877, my father laid the foundation-stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the subsequent history of which has so amply justified the high hopes that were then entertained as to its future. The words which he then used seem to me so appropriate to the present occasion that I should like to make one quotation from them.

“I cannot doubt,” he said, “that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule which is no less creditable to the past, than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that I have been able to take part in it.

Your regretful acknowledgment of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Muhammadan community in India, attests the sincerity and enhances the value of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties.

“The well-known vigour of the Muhammadan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted.

“I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulders to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just and recognized claim to such assistance as it may, from time to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education.”

As long ago as 1882, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali wrote in the columns of the “*Nineteenth Century*” that unless effective measures of reform were adopted, the unsatisfactory condition of the

Moslems threatened to become a source of anxiety and danger to British administration in India. Since then it has been recognized that Moslem education is a problem of its own, and that the special educational needs of Moslems must be specially met. The University of Aligarh which rose on the foundation-stone laid by my father serves to remind us how completely Moslem sentiment in this respect has been met elsewhere. The Moslem Hall at Dacca is so far our main experiment in Bengal, and from the good reports I have of it, I am convinced that the experiment has justified itself. If this Islamia College does for Western Bengal what the Moslem Hall is doing for East Bengal, and gains a reputation as a producer of men who combine in themselves all those qualities of mind and soul and heart which to the Moslem view constitute a gentleman, the present experiment upon which we embark to-day will, I think, equally succeed. For I feel certain that Moslem opinion will judge the Islamia College on much the same principles as does a father when he is choosing a school in England. He does not ask primarily whether all its boys get first classes or scholarships. He asks "what is the tone of the school?" and "what reputation have its old boys in the world?" I hope and think that the Islamia College, while meeting all intellectual tests, will satisfy Moslem public opinion by the severer criterion I here suggest.

Many of you doubtless know from a sketch which appeared in the local press not long ago what aspect the completed building, so admirably

designed by Mr. Crouch, will present. I will mention here only a few details of the projected building. It will contain a magnificent assembly hall large enough to hold all the students; it is proposed that this hall should serve as a common room for the students. There will be two large laboratories with a lecture theatre and a library with space for fifty thousand volumes. How soon the fifty thousand volumes will be available will depend on the extent to which the generosity of the Moslem community is prepared to supplement the efforts of Government in this respect. In addition there will, of course, be the usual features of a well-planned college with the special additional feature of a prayer room which I trust one day Moslem piety will replace by a special college mosque. It is obvious from what I have said about laboratories that the college will make provision for science teaching as well as for arts. In this connection it is worth recalling the 1909 speech of the late Sir Syed Shamsul Huda, in which he demanded for the proposed Muhammadan College the provision of both science and arts courses. At the commencement science will be taught up to the I. Sc. standard only, students subsequently proceeding to the Presidency College for degree work. But it is not intended that after the opening of the Islamia College, Moslem students will be excluded from the Presidency College any more than the Hindu students are excluded from that college because of the existence of the Sanskrit College.

I must not conclude without alluding to the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission

that though it was desirable that the Islamia College should begin as a Government College, it should eventually become self-governing, being handed over to a body of Governors with a consolidated grant. One special recommendation I commend to your notice, and that was to the effect that the proposed Governing Body should be "empowered to accept gifts and endowments which would, we hope, be forthcoming on a substantial scale from well-to-do Musalmans." I feel certain that the recommendation that this college should eventually be an institution managed by a committee of leading Moslems, free from the direct control of Government, is a wise one, and though it is our intention to maintain it as long as may be necessary as a Government institution. I look forward to the time when the recommendation of the Commission can be put into effect. Both before and after that event, I trust that Moslem piety and enthusiasm will see to it that a constant stream of endowments increases the dignity and resources of the college, and supplements such deficiencies as the strained resources of the Bengal Government may have to leave unremedied at least in the earlier stages of the project. In this connection I would ask you to apply to the needs of this institution the words which my father applied to the infant institution at Aligarh.

I perform the ceremony of formally laying the foundation-stone of this Islamia College in the sure hope and belief that it will facilitate the harmonisation of the traditional and revered

ideals of Islamic culture and Islamic piety, with the insistent needs of modern life, and will enable the Moslems of Bengal to play that part in the making of the political and social future of the province to which their numbers, their past history and their very real importance in the body politic entitle them as their just and lawful due.

His Excellency's Speech at the Naval Dinner held at Government House, on 3rd January 1925.

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN,

I rise to propose to you the toast of the Sea Services. This is a toast which I have never, I think, heard proposed before, but I am certain that you will be as glad to honour it as I am to propose it. I include in this comprehensive title all those who go down to the sea in ships—the Royal Navy, the Marines, the Merchant Service, those who defend us in war and those who carry our trade in peace and war—all those in fact who go to sea and share its perils. In your presence to-night I find myself in an atmosphere which is refreshingly unusual for an Indian Governor, but one which brings back to me many pleasant memories of the days when I worked in the Admiralty either in the Intelligence Department or as Civil Lord. I worked in that office during the most critical years in the history of our Sea Services, in days of intense anxiety when our very existence depended from day to day upon the vigilance, the courage and the skill both of the Royal Navy and of the Merchant Service. The scarcity of spectacular naval battles led people to ask almost sneeringly "What is the Navy doing?" and because everyone was occupied with their war work, there were few to tell them in reply that the Navy was not only doing all that was expected of it, but was carrying out silently and efficiently tasks which in previous years no one had ever dreamt of. If the men who manned our ships of

war, or our merchant ships or the innumerable small craft which the conditions of the war called into operation—and let us not forget the men, and the women too, who worked in the dockyards—if these men had failed us, no victories on land could have saved us from utter and irreparable disaster. I shall always be grateful for the chance which enabled me in those anxious days to know and appreciate to the full the magnitude of our debt to the Sea Services.

I think one of the most valuable results of the war was the recognition which it brought to everyone of the value of the Merchant Service and of the supreme courage of the splendid men who belong to that Service. His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief will, I hope, bear me out when I say that the war also brought a great rapprochement between the Royal Navy and the Mercantile Marine. Never again after the experiences of those years could there be any difference in outlook or conflict of interests between the men of the Royal Navy and their sea-faring brothers in the Merchant Service. This fact will be emphasized in this toast, as I shall couple with it the names of a distinguished Admiral and of a distinguished Captain in the service of the P. & O. Company. I understand it is the wish of those who have organized this dinner that the comradeship, which was so close and intimate during the war between those who shared common dangers and risked their lives in a common cause, should not cease now that peace has come. It was an admirable idea to gather together the representatives of all our Sea Services, and I hope that this gathering may become an

annual event in Calcutta, and as long as I am Governor of this Presidency, I shall be glad if the dinner is held in Government House. I should be glad to think that I was assisting at the inauguration of a society in this great seaport town which would stand for all that the sea means to India and to the Empire. In war we are conscious enough of the dependence of the Empire upon the Sea Services, but we are apt to lose sight of this in peace time. In Calcutta we see so little of the Royal Navy, that we are inclined to overlook its existence, and we are so very much aware of the existence of the Merchant Service, which is responsible for our being here at all, that we are apt to take its work as a matter of course.

Nearly a year ago I opened the Lascar Memorial, which stands on the banks of the Hooghly, a conspicuous landmark to all the ships that pass up and down that great thoroughfare to remind them of the splendid work performed by the lascars of Bengal during the war. As that monument is a permanent reminder of the debt which this commercial community owes to these crews, so I should like to see a living organization arise out of this gathering to focus our attention in Calcutta on the permanent work and future possibilities of the Sea Services and to make generations to come acquainted with their history and appreciative of their work.

Gentlemen, in proposing this toast I desire to make a special reference to two men who are with us to-night. The first is Mr. Marshall, an ex-Naval Officer and now our energetic River Chaplain, to whom the seamen of Calcutta owe a very deep debt

of gratitude and to whom future generations of seamen in this port will owe even more. Those of you who know Mr. Marshall will understand what I mean when I say that he is a man who has that indescribable gift of getting his own way. To him difficulties only exist to be overcome, evils to be remedied, and when he sets his heart upon anything he is certain to accomplish it, for no one can resist him. When I receive a command from the Viceroy or the Secretary of State I am, perhaps, inclined to feel rebellious, but the faintest wish most humbly expressed by Mr. Marshall has a force which compels most willing obedience. When I tell you, therefore, that this dinner was Mr. Marshall's wish you will understand why we are all present. It was a fortunate day for the seamen of Calcutta when Mr. Marshall arrived here and espoused their cause. When he felt shame at the inadequate provision which was made for their welfare, the improvement of their condition was already assured.

I visited King George's Dock this morning and learnt what an enormous difference its construction would make to the growth of the port. The best answer, I think, to those who croak about a "Lost Dominion" is to be found in the fact that the Port authorities of Calcutta have decided to double their accommodation. But I was also impressed with the necessity of making the welfare of the sea-faring population keep pace with that growth, and, therefore, what pleased me most was to see the site and the plans of the new Seamen's Home inspired by Mr. Marshall and admirably executed by Mr. Crouch, which will, I hope, be erected at a very

early date. When this building is finished, it will remove what is now a reproach to the Port of Calcutta and provide an adequate field for the splendid work which Mr. Marshall has taken in hand.

In saying this I have the great satisfaction of feeling that in one matter at least I have had the courage to disobey the wishes of Mr. Marshall. If I had consulted him about my speech, I am certain that he would have forbidden me to mention his name. This is the only matter, I think, in which I am capable of disregarding his wishes, but I could not propose the health of the Sea Services without reminding you that the best way in which you can give effect to it is to give to Mr. Marshall all your sympathy and support in his noble efforts to make as pleasant as possible the lot of those crews on whom we depend for so much.

The other man to whom I wish in conclusion to make a special reference is His Excellency the Naval Commander-in-Chief with whose name and that of Captain Murray I couple this toast. I greatly welcome Admiral Richmond's presence in Calcutta, and I hope that he and his successors will make this visit an annual one. Admiral Richmond, I know, takes a deep personal interest in the welfare of the Indian Marine. He is anxious to restore it to the position of a fighting force like its predecessor, the Indian Navy, of whose fine achievements in old days he has spoken to me. I wish him all success in carrying out the scheme which he has in view for the reorganization of the Indian Marine. We are very fortunate, I think, in having secured Admiral Richmond as the Naval Commander-in-Chief in this station and I ask you to give him a very cordial welcome.

His Excellency's Speech at the Legislative Council, on 7th January 1925.

GENTLEMEN,

This Council has met, as you know, in a special session for one purpose, and one purpose alone, namely, to consider the proposals of my Government for suppressing terrorist crime in the province. I shall not discuss the provisions of the Bill which will be submitted to you or say anything to-day of a controversial character. The only justification for a Bill of this kind is that the welfare of the State as a whole is in danger and that the danger cannot be averted by any other means. In the speeches which I have recently made I have tried to explain the circumstances in which my Government have felt constrained to take this action and to restrain the liberty of a few men in order that the liberty of many may be secured. It is not necessary for me to repeat what I have already said and it will be for you to decide when you have heard the case, which of the two evils is the greater, that a secret organization should be left free to threaten the lives of those of whom they disapprove, or that the ordinary processes of law should be suspended, for a limited time and in the case of a few individuals, in order to prevent the commission of violent crime, and the spread of terrorism throughout the province.

Any Government which seeks to employ exceptional measures, to deal with exceptional conditions must satisfy the general public that the special

powers will only be used to deal with the special circumstances and that all reasonable safeguards have been provided against their abuse or their application to ordinary political activities. In the Bill which we have drafted and which will be submitted to you to-day we have endeavoured to provide such safeguards, and to limit the use of the powers which the Bill contains to those conditions alone which have constituted the danger to the State against which the Bill is aimed. You will have to determine when you come to discuss the clauses of the Bill how far we have been successful. I earnestly hope that when you have heard from the Hon'ble Member the case for the Bill of which he is in charge, you will realize the necessity for some legislation of this kind and will help the Government to make its provisions as effective as possible for dealing with an admitted danger.

Gentlemen, I recognize that the subject-matter of this Bill is intensely controversial. It would be improper for me to make any speech on this occasion which would aggravate the controversy or embitter the discussion. My sole object in coming to address you at all is, if possible, to make it easier for all of you to conduct your debate in a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect. Differences of opinion in political matters there must always be in a healthy state, also personal rivalries among leaders and struggles of contending parties for power, and these things will often call forth bitter expressions in the clash of argument in debate. In such matters, so far as they exist in Bengal, it is always my desire to keep aloof and detached as far as possible, not to take sides, but to

be an impartial friend to all those who, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, are willing to accept my friendship or advice. In the present transitional stage of the constitution, this task is rendered extraordinarily difficult by reason of the divided responsibility which is placed upon me. But it is made far more difficult by the existence in this country of a deep-rooted distrust of Government as such which does not exist elsewhere. I recognize that this is due to the fact that the Government in this country has for so long been without any element of responsibility to the representatives of an electorate. Parliament has also recognized this fact and has in recent years pledged itself to a policy of progressive advance towards full responsible and representative Government. The success of this policy in its initial stage is, however, still hampered by that spirit of mistrust which is studiously fostered in the Indian Press.

In the last few weeks this measure which we have felt obliged to introduce, has been made even more controversial than its nature necessitates by the constant reiteration in the Press of the charge that the Government of Bengal has abused its powers in the past. They have been accused of fabricating false charges, of planting arms upon innocent men, and of trying to secure convictions by perjured evidence. It is also stated—and has recently been repeated by an *ex*-Member of the Secretary of State's Council—that the High Court have on occasions condemned them for their action. These general and in that form wholly undeserved charges prove on investigation to be founded almost

always on a single case, namely the Mussalmanpara bomb case of 1914, and it is time that the Government and its police officers should once and for all be absolved from the absolutely false charge which is so often repeated against them in connection with that case.

Whenever in all the miasma of falsehood which clouds the actions of Government in this country I have wanted to reveal the truth I have generally been prevented by the need for secrecy—by considerations of somebody's life or reputation. It happens, however, that by a strange chain of circumstances I am in a position to tell the truth concerning this one case, and I am going to do so in the hope and belief that it will help everyone to escape from the unhappy situation in which we are all placed.

Gentlemen, in that case there was an error of our imperfect human justice and a remarkable illustration of divine justice. A guilty man was declared innocent, but, whereas if he had been found guilty, the only thing which the law could have done with him in the name of justice would have been to hang him by the neck until he was dead, or to shut him up in prison for life; by a miscarriage of justice, or, may we suppose, by the intervention of Providence, he was declared innocent. His life was given back to him and a chance afforded to him to redeem the past. This unexpected, and some, perhaps, may think undeserved, opportunity has since been gloriously utilized, and the man has abundantly made good. The divine law of the forgiveness of sins has in his

case triumphed over the human law of retribution—
a life for a life.

Perhaps you will remind me that three High Court Judges declared the accused man in that case to be innocent and condemned the prosecution for trying to destroy him by perjured evidence and you may ask me what right, what justification I can have for now declaring him to be guilty. I do not, of course, criticise the verdict of the court on the evidence before it, but my answer is that I am privileged to know the man and that I am not ashamed to call him my friend. My authority for what I have said is no less a one than his own. The story of how I came to make his acquaintance and of my subsequent relations with him is one of the most dramatic and interesting episodes of my life. Let me tell it to you as shortly and as simply as I can.

I first heard of him when I visited Newcastle in 1921 with the Indian Students Committee. I then learnt from all the authorities at that University that Nogendra Nath Sen Gupta was the best student, the best scholar and the finest character that had ever come to them. They could not speak too highly of the wonderful influence which this man had exercised while he was in their midst. On my return to London, I made enquiries about the student who had been recommended to me in such glowing terms and found that he was none other than the accused in the Mussalmanpara bomb case of which I had never heard till that moment. I then looked into the records of the case at the India Office and found unmistakable proof of his

guilt. I marvelled that so much good had come out of so much evil.

When I came to Bengal the following year I made his acquaintance. He was living at that time at the Oxford Mission at Behala and the good opinions I had heard of him in England were confirmed by those who knew him most intimately at that time. I found that he had sincerely repented of the crime of his youth and had determined to devote the life which had been given back to him to making amends for the past and to saving others from falling into the same error. But a difficulty confronted him. His position before the world was a false one. He was regarded as the innocent victim of Government oppression and in that capacity he was wedded to falsehood for life. On the other hand, to surrender the certificate of innocence which he had received from the law required a higher standard of moral courage than I was prepared to find in any man. I did eventually find, however, to my surprise and delight that the character which had been so strongly recommended to me by those who knew it was great enough even for this supreme test, and I learnt that he was prepared, at whatever cost to himself, to correct the injustice which belief in his innocence involved and to stand before the world in his true colours—as a man who, in the mistaken belief that he was thereby serving a righteous cause, had committed a grievous crime in his youth, but who, by his subsequent blameless conduct and hard work, had made atonement. Although this was indicated to me soon after I first met him, it was a long time before I felt I knew him well enough to discuss

with him face to face the sacrifice which he was prepared to make, and then only when I became convinced that the greatest service he could now render to his country was to dispel by the light of truth the falsehood and prejudice which had gathered round the case in which he was involved. He has recently given me his permission to tell the truth, subject to this single condition that I shall make it clear that in confessing his own guilt he had not incriminated any one else. He has now removed by a supreme act of self-sacrifice the only burden which still rested on his conscience and he stands absolved in the eyes of God and man. I hope that those true friends who believed in his innocence and stood by him in adversity will not think the worse but the better of him for this confession, and I rejoice to know that he can now take in friendship the hand of the men whom he once sought to kill. He has passed through the fire and come out purified, and the truth in this dark story has at last been revealed.

Gentlemen, I have told this story not merely for the purpose of clearing a former Government of a false charge, but in the hope that this example may help us without any submission or surrender on one side more than on the other to find a common meeting ground. You know the saying once uttered by the founder of Christianity, though the purport of it is not confined, I believe, to the Christian religion, but is common to many others: "Know ye the truth and the truth shall make you free." Here is a truth by which one man has made himself free. May we not all use this same truth to make ourselves free also—free from the antagonism

which now enslaves us? With this example before us of all the evil that must result from hatred and violence and, of all the good that can follow the abandonment of such methods, can we not all join in offering to the young patriotic men of Bengal a better way of serving their country than by importing arms and manufacturing bombs for the destruction of its supposed enemies? I appeal to you with all the force I can command to help us in saving your country from the greatest evil which can overtake it. If you once allow secret terrorism to be established in your midst, it will become a habit that you will never be able to eradicate. It is not merely British officials who are affected by it and no change in the form of Government will get rid of it. It will be resorted to by any discontented minority under any form of Government.

Some of you know that this evil has already spread to a dangerous extent. It has even been used against some members of this Council in the course of their ordinary political activities and in the exercise of their constitutional rights. If you do not make a firm and courageous stand against it now it will become the ruin of your country, and a far greater menace to your personal liberty than this law which my Government is placing before you can ever be. Some of you again may sympathize with the motives which inspire these methods of terrorism to-day, but if these methods are successful, it will be your turn to be destroyed by them to-morrow. Your *Swaraj* Government, when it comes, will never have a chance of success if you once admit the right of those who disapprove of it to threaten the murder of those who are responsible for it.

Gentlemen, we all deplore the necessity for special legislation of this kind, but you will not get rid of that necessity by rejecting this Bill. You can do something better than that. You can help to make it a dead letter when it is passed. Some of you have influence with the men who have adopted terrorism as a means to their end. I appeal to you to take to heart the story I have just told you and to make it the starting point of a new chapter in the political history of Bengal. If you will persuade these men to sink their weapons in the waters of the Hooghly and to abandon terrorism once for all as a political method, we will promise you our whole-hearted co-operation in providing them with other and better ways of serving their country. I offer you my assistance with both hands in finding the best means of progressing towards the realization of those ideals which we have in common. With your help and good-will my Government can do more good to those who look to us for assistance than we can do against your opposition, with our help *you* can do more good in remedying the many social and economic grievances of the people than you can if you are wasting your energies in barren political controversy. We cannot in this Council settle the constitution of India, but we can, if we will, build up in the villages and country districts of Bengal workable self-governing representative institutions which will serve as a solid foundation on which the final structure of provincial self-government can afterwards be raised. That is in our power—that we can do ourselves without reference to the Government of India or to Parliament: is it not the

best service we can render to the people of Bengal? Is it not the best service which Bengal can render to the people of India?

If this Council will resolve to-day that terrorism and secret conspiracy shall cease and that all parties shall come together to evolve the best possible system of local self-government in the rural districts to serve as a foundation for ultimate Provincial Self-Government, future generations will have cause to bless your labours and to say of this Council that it proved a turning point in the constitutional history of India, as it turned Bengal from the wilderness of profitless strife in which she was wandering and set her feet upon a broad highway which led straight to the promised land of her political aspirations.

Joint Address presented by the Municipality and the District Board of Jessore, on 16th January 1925.

We, the members of the Reception Committee, on behalf of the District Board and the people of Jessore, beg to offer Your Excellency our cordial welcome on the occasion of your first visit to the headquarters of the district.

2. It is not often that the people of the mufassal are fortunate enough to come in personal contact with the Governor of the province and lay their wants and grievances before him, and we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity of your visit to our district for respectfully bringing to Your Excellency's kind notice first of all the subject of the improvement of the Bhyrab, which has been uppermost in our minds for over half a century, and which, in spite of the sympathetic attitude of Your Excellency's predecessors, we regret to say, cannot still be said to be fairly in the way of being carried out.

3. It is a matter of profound sorrow to us that the Bhyrab scheme, which was almost complete during the time of Lord Ronaldshay, has not yet been taken up, and even those amongst us, whose minds have not yet sunk into utter despair, are not without serious misgiving that the scheme, if it is at all carried out, may leave out the most essential element for its success, namely, the joining of the Bhyrab with the Mathabhanga by a cut, and of which we were given a definite assurance by Lord Ronaldshay.

• 4. Most of our rivers take their rise from the Mathabhanganga and they have been cut off from the parent river on account of the silting up of their sources. They have been now converted into more or less stagnant pools in their upper reaches, for the most part of the year affording unlimited facilities for the breeding of anopheles, the carriers of malarial parasite. It may not be out of place to invite Your Excellency's personal attention to the various schemes prepared by the Jessore Public Works Department Drainage Division during the time of Lord Carmichael for the improvement of the rivers of this district, none of which has yet been given effect to.

5. Some of our rivers, we beg humbly to submit, may be revived without much difficulty, as, for instance, the river Nabaganga which takes its rise from the Mathabhanganga near Chuadanga. A cut of 3 miles, joining it with the parent river at a cost not exceeding Rs. 50,000, will give a new lease of life to it. It will not only benefit the malarious subdivisions of Magura and Jhenida, but also a large portion of the Chuadanga subdivision of Nadia, which is equally malarious, by flushing it during the rainy season and thus utilizing a large volume of flood water, which now runs to waste. The Kumar, the Chitra and the Ichhamaty may similarly be improved by joining them with the Mathabhanganga. In this connection, we also beg to urge upon Your Excellency the necessity of improving the condition of the Mathabhanganga itself, for the improvement of both of Jessore and Nadia, by removing the silt-bar at its source where it rises from the Padma or the Ganges, and, if necessary,

utilizing the dredger, which Your Excellency had the pleasure of christening after Lord Ronaldshay, and declaring it fit and ready for its useful career, but which unfortunately is lying idle in the Hooghly.

6. We also beg to submit most respectfully that Jessore, which is a river district, depends for its material well-being upon the regulation of its waterways, and we cannot put our idea in more suitable language than in the following words of late Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I., the greatest Irrigation Engineer India has ever seen. "Upon the regulation of waterways," says Sir Arthur Cotton in his notes in connection with Orissa Famine of 1862, "depends incomparably more than on anything else its material well-being. This is specially the case with tropical and other countries, which have well-defined periodical rains." Want of regulation of our rivers makes us suffer alike from drought and flood, and it is our humble suggestion that all our rivers may be revived, regulated and made alive by canalising them and levying tolls on boats plying on them to the immense benefit of both the people and the State.

7. Your Excellency's Government has paid considerable attention to the eradication of water hyacinth, which is a scourge of this district also. In our humble opinion, the problem cannot be successfully grappled with by the help of manual labour alone except at a prohibitive cost, and the only effectual way by which it can be accomplished is by making our rivers sufficiently alive and strong enough to float them down to the sea during the rainy season. This pest is never found to

flourish in flowing rivers. The people have also to do their own part of the work by picking up the remnants after the floods, as has been suggested by Dr. Brühl.

8. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice that the district of Jessore, which is notoriously malarious and unhealthy, and whose population has decreased by over two lakhs within the last four decades, and which suffers heavily from want of good drinking water during the dry season, is in need of special care and attention at the hands of the Government, inasmuch as the District Board is a poor one and cannot successfully cope with the many crying wants of the district. We, therefore, pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant a substantial amount from the provincial revenue for this purpose. In this connection, we beg to bring to Your Excellency's kind notice, that there is a likelihood of a surplus of over two lakhs of rupees from the fund of the settlement operations of this district, and as this amount represents the excess contribution of landlords and tenants of this district towards the settlement cost, it cannot be better utilized than by making provision for the drinking water of the rural area of this district.

9. Malarious and unhealthy as our district is, we cannot but consider it our bounden duty to pray to Your Excellency for the establishment of a medical school for medical education, specially as most of our students are unable to get admission in the Calcutta institutions for medical training, and we, on our part, shall do our level best to co-operate with Your Excellency in contributing our humble mite towards the project.

10. The question of unemployment of the educated middle classes is as keen in our district as in the rest of Bengal and we venture to suggest that young men or a group of young men, as may be found willing and qualified to start agricultural farms or industrial concerns, may be given loans by the State without or with only small interest for the purpose, and these may be kept under expert advice and State control till the repayment of the loan. In this connection we also beg to submit that the virgin lands of the Sundarbans, a part of which was within Jessore before the separation of Khulna from it, which are now leased out only to cultivating classes, may also be given to middle class youngmen. But in their case the area of the holdings will have to be made larger than what is ordinarily leased out to individual cultivators.

11. In conclusion, we beg to thank Your Excellency for the troubles you have taken in coming here and thus affording us an opportunity to lay some of our wants before you, and we hope Your Excellency will give them your kind consideration.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Address
presented at Jessore, on 16th January
1925.***

GENTLEMEN,

I am extremely grateful for the kind words of welcome contained in your address. Though this is the first occasion on which I have been able to pay a visit in person to the headquarters of your district, I was made acquainted with its characteristics and with its principal need soon after my arrival in Bengal and I have had many discussions with my technical advisers regarding the best means of improving its conditions.

As you point out in your address, the unhealthiness of your district is mainly caused by the stagnation of the river system and all your hopes for its improvement are concentrated upon what is known as the Bhyrab scheme. Dr. Bentley, the Director of Public Health, has interested himself keenly in this scheme and has often discussed it with me. Mr. Huntingford, the late Chief Engineer, has been at work upon it for the last three years and has also discussed it with me. I will try and tell you what is the general character of the advice I have received, and as the matter is very technical and complicated, I have brought with me Mr. Addams-Williams, the present Chief Engineer, in order that he may discuss with you in person and on the spot the various schemes which we have worked out. In our opinion these schemes are ones which ought to be carried out under the

Sanitary and Agricultural Improvements Act of 1920. If the District Board will take up the schemes under this Act, there is no reason why they should not be carried out, the District Board meeting the cost by a Government loan which they would repay by means of recoveries made from the persons benefited by the scheme. This was just the kind of purpose for which that Act was designed.

There are three separate but complementary schemes for the improvement of different sections of the Bhyrab; the first provides for flushing the stretches of the river east of the Mathabhanga and down as far as Tahirpur. This is estimated to cost over 13½ lakhs, and this figure is being scrutinized again to see if it is capable of any reduction.

The second scheme provides for flushing the stretches of the river east of Tahirpur. It is proposed to obtain water from the Nabaganga which itself receives spill water from rivers on its north and to excavate a fresh channel for carrying the water. Provision will also be made for the proper regulation of the water levels in a large number of *bhils*, more land will be irrigated and the Chitra will be supplied with water. This scheme will flush 50 miles of the river and it is estimated to cost 63½ lakhs. This is a very high figure, but I am informed by the Chief Engineer that it could be considerably reduced if suitable excavation plant could be utilized.

The third section which has only been under investigation during the last monsoon, aims at flushing 12 miles of the river above its junction

with the Ufra Khal by utilizing the Dhopakhola Khal.* It will also regulate and flush the Juleswar Bhil.

These are the projects which the Government have worked out and believe to be the most efficacious for the improvement of this district, but there are one or two other matters in connection with them which you have mentioned in your address and to which I should refer.

The proposal for a 3-mile cut between the Mathabhanga and the Nabaganga is being investigated, but you have, I am told, underestimated the cost which is likely to be two or three lakhs rather than half a lakh. Enquiries will also be made as to the proposal to connect the Chitra with the Mathabhanga, but the Kumar and the Ichhamaty are already connected with it and carry substantial supplies of water in the freshets.

The question of the head bar in the Mathabhanga is a difficult one; such bars often form again rapidly after the dredger has left. Moreover, the draught of the *Ronaldshay*, which you suggest might be used, is too great for this river, and another difficulty is that dredging can be usefully done only after the rivers have fallen considerably, and then, of course, there is a risk of the dredger being left high and dry in the channel until the following monsoon.

The resuscitation of these dead rivers is the most important problem in this district and you have naturally devoted to its consideration the greater part of your address. I hope while I am here to discuss with the present Chairman and the

late Chairman of your District Board, who are so intimately acquainted with this problem, the details of these schemes to which I have referred, and the possibility of carrying them out.

Let me now turn to some of the other questions which you have raised.

The importance of improving the supply of drinking water in the rural areas is fully recognized by Government and we hope to be able to give you some substantial help during the coming year. It will not be possible, I am afraid, for us to adopt your suggestion of applying the anticipated surplus from the settlement operations to this purpose. This surplus is a provincial asset and we have replied to similar requests in other districts that as any deficit would have to be met from provincial revenues, so any excess should be similarly credited.

You rightly point out that the mischief caused by the spread of water hyacinth cannot be remedied by manual labour alone, and if and when the District Board are able to carry out the river development schemes to which I have referred, the gravity of this problem will be greatly reduced. Government, as you know, have been giving their anxious attention to the matter, and we are at this moment engaged on experiments in the destruction of this weed. Whatever may be the result of these experiments, it is clear that the co-operation of local bodies and voluntary organizations will be necessary if any real headway is to be made. Such co-operation has been promised by the Central Anti-Malarial Society, the Bengal Health Association and the Bengal Social Service League, and

I am glad to hear that the Jessore District Board have adopted bye-laws empowering them to require the owners of land and water to remove any plants which are found thereon. I hope they will use these bye-laws with vigour. Meanwhile Dr. Brühl has, with great public spirit, come forward to make further experiments and carry on further research work on the life history of the plant on lines suggested by Sir J. C. Bose's Committee and I confidently expect very beneficial results from his work.

I am afraid your suggestion for the establishment of a medical school here cannot be entertained. I would refer you to what I said at Jalpaiguri at the beginning of last year as to the conditions precedent to the establishment of such a school. None of those conditions is as yet satisfied here, nor, so far as I can see, is there any immediate prospect of their being satisfied.

You suggest as steps towards the solution of unemployment amongst the educated middle classes, the grant of loans to enable young men to start agricultural farms and also the lease of Sundarbans land. With regard to the former, such loans could, of course, be granted, provided that the Collector were satisfied that the loan was genuinely needed for land improvement or some agricultural object, and that the security was sufficient. But the regular rate of interest charged to ordinary cultivators, namely, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., could not be waived or reduced.

As regards the suggestion that the areas in the Sundarbans to be leased out should be larger than is permitted to ordinary cultivators, the

maximum area allowed to any one man is 75 bighas, and this would seem ample to enable young men to make a start and show whether they were able to cultivate successfully.

Gentlemen, this visit to Jessore completes the programme of my provincial tours. I have now visited the headquarters of every district in Bengal and I should like, if you will allow me, to conclude by giving you a few of my impressions. I have not only enjoyed these tours, but I have greatly profited by them. Although I am only able to obtain a superficial acquaintance with the special characteristics of each district yet the sum total of the experience I have thus gained has been of the utmost value. Practically all that I now know about the province of Bengal has been derived from a study of the various problems which have been brought to my notice by the addresses I have received and from the discussion of them with local representatives. I have also received a most favourable impression of the working of local self-government institutions in the province. This is a matter of which practically nothing is known in England, and when I go back the best evidence I can submit to my countrymen of the fitness of India for responsible government will be derived from the working of the representative element in the local self-government machinery of this province. All the difficulties which are so often quoted as obstacles to the concession of political responsibility are here present though in a smaller degree. On Union Boards, Local Boards and District Boards I find Muhammadans and Hindus as well as all castes of the latter working together, and solid work for the

improvement of local conditions is there being done. The chief hindrance to more rapid progress is lack of money. With more funds all these local bodies could effect immense improvements in education and in public health. The impression, therefore, that I have formed as the result of my provincial tours is that there is nothing radically wrong with the machinery of Local Government. It can be improved no doubt, there are some defects which could be removed, but on the whole the machinery for grappling with local needs is adequate and the will to effect local improvements is also present. What is chiefly needed is more money. The great problem of the moment then seems to be to increase the wealth of the country. The local governing bodies—Municipalities and District Boards—are at present rather too inclined to believe that the resources of the Provincial Government are unlimited and that all their needs can be met by grants-in-aid from provincial revenues. A great deal of space, therefore, in my replies to addresses has had to be occupied with refusing specific requests and explaining the limitations which are necessarily attached to Government assistance.

During the two years which still remain of my term of office I hope to concentrate upon this problem of increasing the wealth of the province, and thereby the ability of Government agencies, whether local or provincial, to supply local needs. Wealth is of two kinds and may be derived either from human resources or from the resources of the soil. Human wealth is at present greatly diminished both by ignorance and disease, and it is also

common knowledge that the soil of Bengal is capable of a much greater yield than is at present obtained from it.

The problems of education, public health and agricultural improvement, therefore, require special attention from the point of view of increasing wealth. The cultivators must be improved by the spread of primary education, and secondary education must be given a more practical bias so that from the *bhadralog* class we may obtain more producers with technical qualifications and fewer men with merely literary attainments. By the prevention of disease the efficiency of the population must be raised and, lastly, the productivity of the soil must be increased by scientific research and the improvement of methods of cultivation. None of these things can be accomplished by the Provincial Government alone, but they can all be accomplished in a comparatively short time by the co-operation of the local governing bodies with the Provincial Government.

In conclusion, I must thank you again for your welcome and for the encouragement which I have derived from a knowledge of the good work which you are doing.

His Excellency's Speech at the Founder's Day Ceremony, Presidency College, on 20th January 1925.

MR. STAPLETON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very pleased to be present on this anniversary of your Foundation not only as a guest, but in the capacity of 'Visitor' to the Presidency College, which since Lord Carmichael's time Governors of Bengal have been glad to assume. The interesting historical review of the college, which the Principal has given in his address, has prompted me to make some researches myself into the history of this function of visitor and I have been interested to find that the Governor of Bengal, in accepting the function of visitor to the Presidency College, strikes out no new path, but merely turns full circle the wheel of tradition.

I learnt what is probably known to most of you that the Presidency College has grown from the school which was opened on the 20th January 1817, in the Chitpore Road, that this institution was, in the first instance, a private and not a Government institution, and that subsequently in the course of time Government assumed responsibility for it. The institution met with many difficulties in its early days and eventually Government was asked on the initiative of David Hare of pious memory to save it from ruin. Government willingly accepted this responsibility, but stipulated for a small measure of control which the Managers were at first unwilling to accord. During the

negotiations which ensued a letter was written which will be found in the Proceedings of 1829 and from which I will quote one sentence—

“ We thought it advisable to decline acceptance of the authority thus offered to us, but we deemed it expedient to propose taking share in the control of the institution as visitors of the college.”

So wrote the Committee of Public Instruction which under Government conducted the educational administration of that day. Thus it will be seen that nearly a hundred years ago Government assumed over the Presidency College of that day that function of ‘ Visitor ’ which it is to-day my privilege to enjoy.

I further learnt that the first anniversary meeting of the supporters of the institution was held on the 6th January 1818. The number of boys at that time was 69. The enthusiasm of its promoters, however, was not damped by small numbers or modest beginnings. Presidency College, has always had men who believed in it and dreamed of a great future for it. In spite of vastly changed circumstances there are many to-day who, though Presidency College might be thought a sufficiently imposing institution, still believe that we have not yet seen the half of what it one day may be. That these firm believers in the Presidency College are merely following in the footsteps of their predecessors may be illustrated by two small extracts from its history. The report of the first

anniversary meeting tells us that on the day of the opening of the school a learned Hindu said :

“The Hindu College will be like the *‘bur* or banian tree which is at first but a small plant, but afterwards becomes the greatest of all trees.”

Similarly in 1853, in Lord Dalhousie's time the Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote as follows :—

“The time, His Lordship doubts not, will come, though it is probably still in the distant future, when the Presidency College, having elevated itself by its reputation, and being enriched by endowments and scholarships, will extend its sphere of attraction far beyond the local limits which it is now designed to serve ; and when, strengthened by the most distinguished scholars from other cities, and united with the Medical College in all its various departments, as well as with other Professorships of practical science and art whose establishment cannot be long postponed, it will expand itself into something approaching to the dignity and proportions of an Indian University.”

As we stand here and look around, as we think of the enormous expansion of collegiate and school education in Bengal since 1817, we are bound to acknowledge that the simile of the banian tree was a truthful and prophetic one. The tree has spread and grown in the manner specially characteristic of the banian so that Presidency College no longer stands out as the main and almost the only stem, but is one of many vigorous growths. One little rootlet,—that development which Lord Dalhousie

erroneously thought so far off in 1853, and which was in fact less than half a decade away,—has now spread so far and put forth so many offshoots that it is difficult to distinguish the original parent stem. Presidency College, however, continues to stand out as one of the stoutest of the banian trunks, and to make an invaluable contribution to the support of the whole organism a contribution which, as Presidency College men believe, and as I recognize, is essential to the well-being of the whole. As we all know, the proper method of co-ordination between the Presidency College and the University in its latter day developments was one of the subjects on which the Sadler Commission spent much thought and it is one which, I understand, Presidency College men consider that Government and the University ought to face at an early date. I hope the University and the Presidency College Committees now sitting will give us good advice on this matter.

I can see, however, from the Principal's speech that your faith in the future of Presidency College is firm, and that you are convinced that, whatever form of integration with University activities may ultimately be adopted, it is essential that the Presidency College, which co-operates with the University, should be a developing organism retaining an individuality of its own, and contributing from that individuality to the University something valuable of which it would otherwise be deprived. This was the view of the Sadler Commission and I am convinced that it is the right view. You, therefore, claim, and I am sure rightly claim, that Presidency College should not be

neglected by Government merely because Government is assisting in the development of the University of Calcutta in the matter of those activities in which it tends to overshadow you, though it still needs your co-operation, I mean Post-graduate studies.

I hear, therefore, with interest of your schemes for development and can assure you that we are very far from thinking that on account of University needs, Presidency College must be regarded as having reached the limit of its expansion. Whatever is needed for its development we shall be glad to concede within the narrow limits of our financial resources. If, however, the college is to depend on the help of Government alone, its growth must necessarily be slow. Those rich endowments, which Lord Dalhousie anticipated in the passage which I have quoted, have unfortunately not materialised in Presidency College to the extent that was hoped. For instance, the appeal to the public of your former Principal, Mr. H. R. James, for a College Hall fell on unheeding ears. This was, perhaps, due to the belief that because the institution was a Government one, endowments would merely relieve Government of its commitments. Such a belief would be misguided, and I hope no one here holds it. If, however, the fact that Presidency College is a Government institution does actually hinder its development, then the Government patronage is a doubtful benefit and should, perhaps, in the interests of the college itself, be removed. We have good warrant in the Sadler Commission's Report for asking ourselves whether we should not as a Government divest

ourselves of direct responsibility for the college, and instead hand it over to a Body of Trustees who would then develop the college with the help of Government grants and such endowments as they might receive from the public. No decision on these lines has, of course, been taken as yet, nor will it ever be taken unless it is clearly shown to be in the interests of the college. It is a subject which, I hope, the Presidency College Committee now sitting will consider and express an opinion upon.

Whatever future form the college may take, whatever changes may happen in its constitution and administration, I am glad to know that it is doing good work in the present. I have heard with special interest that you are starting an Old Boys' Society, a society which, if it had been started earlier, would have included those great sons of the Presidency College, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, whose loss we had to deplore in that year of great losses, 1924, which also robbed you of that gifted member of your staff, the poet Manmohan Ghose. Such a society would, I think, at any time include most of the great names of Bengal. I wish the new venture all success. I also hope that the new system of tutorial guidance promoted so energetically by Mr. Stapleton will bear the fruit expected of it in comradeship and collaboration between staff and students which is such a real need for young men at the formative period of their lives, and which the Sadler Commission, in the passage quoted by Mr. Stapleton, so clearly outlined. I wish you success in this and all developments

making for unity, fellowship and corporate spirit within the college. With you I regret that the generous scheme of development which Mr. James, your former Principal, expounded before Lord Carmichael on this very spot in 1913 has made little or no progress owing to the stringency of post-war conditions in Bengal. So far as I can help within the limits within which the Government of Bengal must perforce confine its activities in these difficult days, you may rely on me for support in all that makes for the efficiency, well-being and development of Presidency College.

***His Excellency's Address to Mr. W. Cook,
Watch and Ward Officer, Eastern
Bengal Railway, when presenting him
with the King's Police Medal, at a
Police Parade at Lal Bazar, on 21st
January 192 .***

MR. COOK,

You joined the Calcutta Police in May 1914, and from the 4th of October of that year held charge of the Reserve Force with the rank of Superintendent until, on the creation of the post of Assistant Commissioner in 1918, you were promoted to that appointment. In this capacity you were responsible for the discipline and order of the Headquarters Force, a very difficult task which you carried out with conspicuous success. At the end of 1921, you were appointed Additional Deputy Commissioner, North Division, for a period of six months and were placed in charge of special patrols required to deal with the non-co-operation campaign. In this capacity your work merited the highest praise and you displayed great tact and patience under the most trying circumstances on numerous occasions facing very grave personal risks without the slightest hesitation. In short, you participated in the suppression of every big disturbance in Calcutta during the last seven years and always displayed singular presence of mind and courage.

I congratulate you on the King's Police Medal, which you have so well earned.

***His Excellency's Address to Captain
R. G. Hanna, of SS. Mathura, when
presenting him with a Gold Cigarette
Case, on 21st January 1925.***

CAPTAIN HANNA,

I am glad of this opportunity of handing to you in public this gold cigarette case which the Government of Bengal have presented to you in recognition of the skill and determination which you displayed in saving a tindal from drowning. For the benefit of those who are present here to-day, I should like to recount quite briefly the circumstances in which the rescue took place.

At 6-30 A.M. on Sunday, 25th May 1924, the Chief Engineer of your ship *Mathura* reported to you that the third fireman tindal was missing. It was subsequently ascertained that the tindal had quarrelled with a fireman in the engine-room and had deliberately jumped overboard three hours before his disappearance was noticed. You immediately turned the ship about and placed her on a course opposite to that she was then steering. The tindal was sighted at 9-56 and at 10-15 he was brought on board, apparently little the worse for his experience, although it is estimated that the ship had steamed 78 miles altogether from the time the tindal is believed to have jumped overboard until he was picked up.

These facts disclose a most remarkable example of life saving at sea. For, in performing this feat you displayed not only excellent seamanship but also great determination in doing all that lay in your power to save the life of one of your men. I congratulate you most heartily and have great pleasure in handing to you this token of the Government of Bengal's admiration for your skill, determination and humanity.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on 4th February 1925.

SIR RAJENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

When I attended for the first time your annual meeting last year, I was privileged to listen to a most able speech from the retiring President, Dr. Annandale. His extreme modesty, coupled with his profound knowledge, gave special importance to the sound doctrines which he enunciated in his presidential address. The words which he used on that occasion have since acquired an even greater significance by the tragic fact that they proved to be in effect his last message to the world of culture and learning in India. Little did any of us think as we listened to his brilliant address that we were so soon to lose him and those of us who desire to honour his memory can find no better way of doing so than to work for the success of this Society which was so near his heart and of which he was such a distinguished ornament. During his life time he showed his interest in the activities of the Society by the offices which he held in it and by the many learned papers which he contributed to its journals; and at his death he gave further proof of his devotion to the Society's welfare by the legacies he has made of his private library, and of money to be spent on the preservation and exhibition of its artistic treasures. His death is, indeed, a heavy loss to the Society, but his example will, I hope, be an abiding stimulus to

others to promote the culture and learning which form the surest foundation of a nation's greatness.

As the President has reminded us, we have also been deprived during the past year of the greatest man of learning of the present generation in Bengal. That the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been successively mourned by every learned society in Bengal is an indication of the versatility of his genius and of the deep interest which he took in every movement for the encouragement of art and learning.

If this Society has suffered greatly by the loss of these two distinguished men during the past year you will agree with me, I am sure, that it has gained by having Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee as its President. Like his predecessor, Dr. Annandale, Sir Rajendra Nath shines through the innate modesty that seeks ever to conceal his merits. That modesty has led him to represent himself as a plain business man with little title to be the President of a learned society, but the thoughtful and instructive address which he has just delivered is sufficient vindication of the soundness of your choice in selecting him as your President and the valuable work he has done for the Society during the past year has been fittingly recognized by your selection of him to a second year of office. His deep and abiding interest in the welfare of this Society is shown by the readiness with which, amid all his other duties, he has undertaken the duties of President—not as a mere title, but with the full determination to guide the deliberations of the Council and to control the destinies of the Society. Sir Rajendra Nath is a striking instance of the

truism of which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was also so remarkable an example, that those who have least leisure manage to devote the most time to interests outside their normal occupation. The benevolent activities in this city appear to be concentrated among a few public-spirited energetic men; it would be well if others would emulate their enthusiasm and share with them work of which so much remains to be done.

Sir Rajendra Nath has also shown his interest in the Society by the deep thought he has evidently devoted to the means for its improvement. He has clearly mapped out his policy and indicated the aims and ideals which he considers should actuate the activities of the Society. If I read his suggestions aright, he aims at broadening the scope of the Society and making it appeal to a wider circle, while at the same time rigidly scrutinising the principles underlying the conferment of its fellowships. In this way he hopes to make the Society more popular without sacrificing the high standard which it always enjoyed. I hope that the suggestions Sir Rajendra Nath has tentatively thrown out for the end he has in view will receive the careful consideration they deserve. For, in this way perhaps, we shall see not only a restoration of its financial position and the extension of its scholarly work, but also the re-establishment of the Society in its place of pre-eminence—the final authority on problems affecting man and nature in Asia. A Society such as this must not trade on the traditions of the past, but must use these traditions merely as a foundation and an inspiration for the future.

During the last year special attention has again been paid to the material welfare and regeneration of this Society and I should like to congratulate its members on the very satisfactory record which the report for 1924 discloses. It is a record of solid unostentatious work, and, if during the year, the Society cannot point to any specially brilliant achievements, the period has at least been one of consolidation, which is the necessary preliminary to advance and expansion. During this period a great deal of money has had to be spent on organization and on strengthening its foundations in every direction. This necessarily results in a restriction of the Society's output in research and scholarship. This Society is as it were a clearing house of knowledge, and unless its organization is placed on a business footing, its books maintained in good order and the administration managed economically in respect of time, labour and money, we cannot expect the maximum of efficiency on its research side. The relationship between the business and technical or literary aspects of any learned society would make an interesting study, but it must be conceded that unless the foundations of business methods are laid deep and firmly the builders collaborating in the construction of the building will be handicapped and will have less scope for using their materials to advantage. You do not expect the best architect to be his own builder or engineer, and yet this is the mistake learned societies so frequently make in the management of their own affairs. The appointment as General Secretary of Mr. Van Manen, indicated the Society's recognition that business methods and

scholarship must go hand in hand. In fact Mr. Van Maner is himself an epitome of what the Society should be—a combination of practical business capacity and scholarly brilliance and it was, perhaps, because the necessity of placing the Society on a businesslike footing was so urgent, that this aspect of the combination was further emphasised by the appointment of Sir Rajendra Nath as President. It has certainly been in the best interests of the Society that so eminent a businessman should have been elected its President and the appointment has been thoroughly justified. I hope that the progress made during his second year will be as satisfactory as that made in 1924.

I should like to mention just a few achievements, some of the more notable reforms in the internal administration of Society, reforms which will make for the easier and more efficient management of the Society and for the greater accessibility of its vast treasure.

When I addressed this Society last year, I was able to point to three outstanding achievements and I called attention to two notable needs. These achievements were the thorough renovation of the buildings, the re-organization in the administration of the Society and the increase in its membership: these three achievements, which are achievements on the material side, represent the beginning of a new era for the Society. They are assets, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as time goes on, although their benefits may not be manifest at once. The annual report and the President's address have both made clear the many directions in which the re-organization has been

effected, and all the improvements aim at facilitating reference and rendering the treasures of the Society more easily accessible to the scholar and student. I may mention, for instance, the improvements effected in the library, in the system of filing and recording, and so on: another important and far-reaching reform is the introduction of fixed scales of pay and promotion and the inauguration of a provident fund for the staff. A fixed comprehensive policy governs these changes and has been substituted for a haphazard series of measures improvised to meet occasions as they arise.

The needs to which I referred last year were a further increase in membership (for, as I have said, a substantial increase was one of the achievements of the year) and facilities for the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures to the best advantage. The first of the needs has been satisfied. Records have been created not only in the number of new elections, but also in the net increase during the year: I hope that this increased interest will be maintained and that the Society will obtain the hundred additional members still required to constitute a record in total membership. This is something definite and inspiring to work for. I am encouraged by the very satisfactory response which was made to my appeal for new members last year to renew that appeal on this occasion to all those interested in culture and intellectual pursuits—whatever their occupation or race, whether official or non-official, experts or laymen—to join the Society, so that its membership in 1925 may surpass all previous records.

The other need—the preservation and display of the Society's valuable treasures—has also been largely met and the General Secretary's report tells us of the satisfactory progress that has been made in this direction.

In fact, the results which the Society anticipated from the re-organization and co-ordination of its activities have been fully attained during the year. There has been a greater number of new elections, manuscripts acquired, library books and manuscripts bound, publications issued and books sold than in almost any previous year. Finally the regular income of the Society has substantially increased.

Hitherto I have dealt with what I may call the business side of the Society's activities, and I have pointed out that this aspect has very rightly been emphasised during the past two years; although this has necessarily restricted the main activities of the Society, yet the report shows very satisfactory results in literary work also. Much of the work of members of the Society has already been noticed and acknowledged by the international world of learning with an appreciation indicative of interest and affection. It must, indeed, have been most gratifying to the Society to note the immediate and generous response from scholarly circles to the literary output of the year; and I would quote, especially the reception given, to the descriptive catalogue of Persian manuscripts, compiled by Mr. Ivanow, whom we welcomed last year. •

Other outstanding achievements of the year have been the very satisfactory progress made with the Bibliotheca Indica and the Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts.

The year then has been a very satisfactory one not only because of the immediate output of scholarly work and the re-organization* of the Society on a business basis, but even more so from the promise of greater achievements, which this very re-organization holds out. The work of the last two years has been like that of the town planner, who has to demolish old buildings, which have been set down at haphazard without reference to the lay out of the whole city, in order that the architects and builders may have full scope for their art.

In conclusion, I appeal again not merely to scholars and research workers, but to all who are interested in the cultivation of the mind and of the humane arts, or in the pursuit of science, to join this Society. They will thus not only benefit themselves, but also help, no less effectively because indirectly, in increasing the sum of human knowledge and the credit of Bengal in the world of culture. Sir Rajendra Nath's connection with the Society is a guarantee that it will be administered on economical and efficient lines and the policy he has outlined should give us confidence in the high ideals that will continue to inspire the Society.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Kalimpong Homes (Oal-outta Committee), on 20th February 1925.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

My interest in the Kalimpong Homes has been too often expressed to need any repetition on this occasion. Dr. Graham knows, I think, by this time not only that he can count on at least one visit from me every year, but that a visit to Kalimpong is one of the most delightful experiences of my annual stay in the hills. On the occasion of my last visit I need hardly say that Dr. Graham managed to find a ceremony for me to preside at and that this ceremony was in itself evidence of the continued growth of his work. In May last I was privileged to lay the foundation-stone of the Ballantyne Block, which has been built with money given only a few weeks before her death by Mrs. Ballantyne in memory of her son who was so well known in Calcutta and whose early death was universally mourned here. This will provide accommodation for two most useful classes—Manual Instruction and Telegraphy Training—and incidentally will enable greater use to be made of the playing fields near the school building. I am glad to hear that the building has now been completed and is ready for use.

Such gifts as these indicate the abiding interest taken by friends of the Homes in their welfare and expansion and the confidence they have in their

future. That interest, so far as Calcutta is concerned, is further shown by the wonderful success with which the Annual Kalimpong Dance always meets. Another feature of the year—and further proof of the interest taken by our old friends—has been the strengthening of the endowment fund. That good old friend of the Homes, Mr. R. D. Macgregor, who gave a lakh of rupees only 14 months ago, has given Rs. 1,20,000 more to the endowment fund. The fund has further profited by the generous gifts of Sir Robert Watson Smyth, the late Mr. Few's Estate, Miss Chapman, Miss Pithie and Mr. Maling Grant. The importance of an endowment fund for such a colony as this cannot be overestimated, and I hope the example set by these ladies and gentlemen will be followed by others who, having finished their careers in India, are anxious to leave behind them a lasting token of their gratitude to the country of their adoption.

I understand that the endowment fund has now reached the figure of five lakhs of rupees, but how much more remains to be done will be appreciated when we realize that this sum provides for the endowment of only 80 children out of a total of 625.

The last four years have necessarily been a period of consolidation, and these additions to the endowment fund represent, perhaps, the most satisfactory aspect of it. But it is characteristic of Dr. Graham that, while recognizing the importance of providing for the permanence of the work at its present stage, he is not content merely to perpetuate the present. He has visualized the directions in which the Homes must still further develop and has prepared a programme of its likely needs, both

immediate and more remote. The wonderful success of these Homes has from the first been due to that vision which enabled Dr. Graham to look far ahead, and to his faith in the ultimate realization of his dreams. A great commander in war must plan his campaign with a view to all eventualities, however remote, and so with the founder and controlling spirit of such a colony as this. Dr. Graham is one of those who can never reach his goal, as that goal is always receding as he approaches it. We find that he has already indicated the direction in which he desires expansion to take place for the better accommodation of the staff, the housing of the children and the provision of agricultural training.

I was very greatly impressed with the beauty of the Chapel, which is now nearing completion and which Dr. Graham hopes to have dedicated on 24th September of this year—being the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Homes. I am delighted to hear that the special appeal for the Rs. 60,000 to complete the Chapel has been entirely successful and that Rs. 63,000 has been subscribed mainly through the energy and generosity of Mr. Thomas McMorran, whom we saw here last year, and his London friends. We are now happy to know that the building will be worthy of her whom it has been designed to commemorate. If any friends of the Homes are anxious to show their special appreciation of the late Mrs. Graham's services to humanity, I am told that a pipe organ and chimes are two special needs of the Chapel. Dr. Graham does not beg. He only offers to his friends the opportunity of spending their wealth

in such a manner as to enrich themselves. The opportunity which he now offers to those who have money to spare is that they may cause the music of praise and thanksgiving and the bells which summon that happy colony to prayer to echo sweetly through the hills of Kalimpong.

The year has been a sad one and has robbed the Homes of three life-long friends and supporters; Sir William Duke was an Honorary Vice-President of the Homes and never lost interest in them after his return to England in spite of the overwhelming duties that his work at the India Office imposed upon him. In fact it was from him that I first heard of them myself. Dr. Francis's devotion to Anglo-Indian education was well known and he rendered direct services to the Homes by acting as Honorary Superintendent on two occasions. Dr. Sutherland's energies in Kalimpong were directed mainly to the education of hill boys, but he always took a keen and personal interest in the Homes and the life of the workers.

I want now to say something about the attitude of Government towards the Homes. When I said last year that our failure to support the Kalimpong Homes weighed upon my conscience and that I should not be happy until we had replaced the sum we had withdrawn, I was under the impression that the grant which we had been obliged to withdraw in 1924 had been a recurring grant and was in the nature of an annual subscription. I did not like to think that the Government had disappeared as it were from your list of annual subscribers and I hoped that we should soon be in a position to reappear there. It has since been

explained to me, however, that the grants of Rs. 40,000, Rs. 80,000 and Rs. 60,000 which the Government of Bengal made to the Homes in 1921, 1922 and 1923, respectively, were not recurring, but non-recurring grants, that is to say, they were in the nature of special donations rather than annual subscriptions. Special grants of a similar nature for a special purpose we should be prepared to make again at any time should the need arise, but in view of the small amount available in our budget for European schools generally and the urgent needs of other institutions, we do not feel justified in making such special grants to Kalimpong either for purposes of normal maintenance or for expansion. Let me explain exactly what the Government does at present for these Homes and what you may reasonably expect of it in the future. The total amount available in our budget to-day for European education is only eleven lakhs of rupees. This has to provide both for Orphanages like Entally Convent and Kalimpong, as well as for schools. In recent years we have given to the Orphanages rather more than their fair share of the total amount at our disposal. This year, for instance, Entally has had a special building grant of Rs. 61,000 and in the meantime the ordinary schools for the education of European and Anglo-Indian children are crying out for funds for their development and to enable them to give their teachers reasonable pay and prospects. I am sure you will understand that if in considering the problem of European and Anglo-Indian education as a whole we are obliged to make our special grants to Kalimpong only occasional and strictly based upon

special needs, this does not imply any lack of sympathy with, or appreciation of, the splendid work which is being carried on there.

In ordinary recurring grants we pay to Kalimpong about Rs. 46,000 annually. This year and next year we propose to pay these grants according to the Code instead of following the old system. The Homes will, I hope, benefit by this change to the extent of Rs. 10,000 or possibly more according to the number of children who can be regarded as qualifying for the free boarding grant. The relations of Government to the Homes, therefore, may be summed up as follows. We recognize and appreciate their great value. We contribute Rs. 46,000 annually towards their educational work. This will be increased to Rs. 56,000 this and next year. We have in the past made in addition special grants for special needs, and we shall in the future be prepared at any time to consider applications for special assistance of a similar kind.

I should like in conclusion to refer to the great contribution that this Committee, like its sister committees in London and Scotland, has rendered to the Homes during the past year. It is due to the generous co-operation of these committees and the loyal labours of their members that the Homes are able to deal so effectively with the vast problem that they have undertaken.

His Excellency's Speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, on 21st February 1925.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the second year in succession we meet in our Annual Convocation under the shadow of a great sorrow. The Vice-Chancellor has reminded us of those losses by the hand of death which we suffered in 1924, that year in which the University of Calcutta was, perhaps, more cruelly stricken by fate than in any preceding year of its history. To some of the long roll of Senators and University workers who passed away last year I have already paid my tribute. I have not yet within these walls expressed my sense of the loss which the University suffered through the death of our late Vice-Chancellor, following as it did so quickly upon the removal of that great bulwark of our University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As I said last year at the Convocation, when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee died, a feeling akin to consternation was created in our minds. In the midst of our sorrow and apprehension, however, we felt that though no one was capable of bringing to the administration of the University that unique combination of almost superhuman industry, knowledge, and intellectual grip which characterized Sir Asutosh, yet in Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu we had a great Bengali statesman and patriot who would, we hoped, be

able, in spite of his frail health, to steer us through the troubled waters that still lay ahead of us.

During the summer of last year Mr. Basu's long indisposition gave us cause to fear that the night was closing round his day, but we hoped against hope that he might be spared to guide the destinies of our University for a little longer.

Our hopes were doomed to tragic disappointment and he died on September 16th. During his brief Vice-Chancellorship Mr. Basu gave evidence that those qualities which he possessed in abundant measure—tact, clear vision, patience, industry and a grip of educational realities—would be placed unreservedly at the service of his University. The measure of his capacity is the measure of our loss. Though there was no truer Bengali patriot than Mr. Basu, yet his patriotism did not blind his eyes to the imperfections of national institutions. His wide experience, both of Indian and Western systems of education, enabled him to place his finger unerringly on those points of weakness in our University and school education which need reform, and no public man, Indian or Englishman, in Bengal was so eminently qualified for the task of making those adjustments, with the consent of his countrymen, which are necessary if our system is to adapt itself to the rapidly changing needs of the time. I have lost in Mr. Basu a great personal friend one for whom I had both affection and admiration. I join with you to-day in mourning one, who was a great statesman, and would, had he lived to complete his heroically accepted task,

have proved himself one of the greatest of the many distinguished Vice-Chancellors whom the University has known.

I have one further duty to perform before I pass on. There is one remark in the speech to which we have just listened from Sir Ewart Greaves which, I am sure, comes straight to us from the anvil of personal experience. In paying his tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work, the Vice-Chancellor has feelingly remarked that it is only when one comes in close contact with the work of the University that one realizes the stupendous burden which he bore for so many years. I am well aware of the almost insupportable burden of work which Sir Ewart Greaves has laid upon his back by accepting the office of the Vice-Chancellorship of this University. Work which would form a reasonable wholetime task for most men is cheerfully performed by him in addition to his ordinary day's work in the High Court, and I desire here to convey to him as Chancellor the grateful thanks of the whole University for which he sacrifices himself so unsparingly. Setting before himself the high standard of industry laid down by Sir Asutosh, he quickly grasped the multifarious problems of the University, and has at the same time won the confidence of his colleagues on the Syndicate and Senate. In your name, and on my own behalf, I thank him for the self-sacrificing public spirit, the industry and the sympathy which he has brought to our affairs.

The Vice-Chancellor has again reminded us, that one of the great questions facing us is the future

of that school of advanced studies which is somewhat inadequately named the Post-Graduate Department. Last year I said that the primary necessity was its stabilization. That is to say, we must examine and ascertain what measures are necessary to re-organize it, so far as it needs re-organization, and to plant its foundations firm and deep in the rock of financial stability. In pursuance of the suggestion which I made, a Committee has since been sitting, and I am well aware that its labours have been herculean. Like the Vice-Chancellor I must not try to anticipate the findings of that Committee. I have no idea what they will be. But whatever they may be, I should like to stress what appear to me to be the essential necessities of the position. *First*, all avoidable waste must be eliminated. *Secondly*, nothing must be allowed in any way to impair the importance of the Department as a centre of advanced teaching and research; *thirdly*, the colleges should be associated as much as possible in advanced work, not merely in the interest of economy, but in the interest of the intellectual life of the colleges themselves. It is no gain but a definite loss if, by being entirely divorced from any share in advanced University work, your associated colleges gradually become intellectually impoverished, so that their students for the B. A. degree cease to have the advantage of the stimulus which comes from contact with first-rate minds. *Lastly*, let me repeat the assurance which I gave you last year that Government will give you whatever financial assistance may be necessary to secure the permanence of this

important department of the University. We have made a tentative provision of two lakhs of rupees in this year's budget and as soon as your essential needs have been ascertained and agreed upon, we hope to be able to fix a suitable annual grant.

The Vice-Chancellor's reference to the Matriculation Examination has reminded us that the University takes not only post-graduate teaching, but almost all grades of education under its maternal charge. I am glad to know that the reduction of the age-limit to 15 is on the whole generally welcomed as a necessity, even if, perhaps, as a regrettable necessity. But I am even more glad to know that it is hoped in the next few months to raise the standard of the Matriculation Examination. This is an urgent need from all that I hear, and when this reform has been effected it may be possible still further to reduce the age-limit for the Matriculation Examination or even to abolish it altogether. The subject of the introduction of teaching and examination through the medium of the vernacular introduces another debatable subject, but we have the authority of the Sadler Commission for making at least some change in the present system, and I trust you will come to a decision which both Hindus and Moslems can accept without demur, so that Government may find it a simple matter to pass orders on your recommendations.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are faced with many urgent and difficult problems. Some of them the Vice-Chancellor and I have already mentioned: others such as the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education and the problem of medical

education, I shall not discuss on this occasion as the time is not yet ripe for any public announcement on either of them. The former subject has been much delayed by the political crisis which for the last six months has deprived me of the advice of any Ministers. It will have to be dealt with by the new Minister for Education as soon as he is appointed and I hope to be able to resume the conferences between the Government and the University authorities before I leave Calcutta for the hills. My desire as Chancellor is to identify myself with the interests of the University in these and in all other matters, and this assurance I can give you to-day that if as Governor I find it necessary to agree to any educational policy in the interest of those for whom this University is less directly responsible than the Government, you can rely upon me as your Chancellor to see that the interests of the University, whether financial or otherwise, are not made to suffer thereby. That is a definite pledge by which you can hold me bound during the remainder of my term of office, and in all the problems of University administration or reconstruction, I think our progress would be more rapid if you would look upon me as the champion of University interests in the event of any difference of opinion with the Government.

Let us, in the first place, try to discover the points on which we can all agree and from that common standpoint we shall be the better able to approach the points on which we differ. In one matter I imagine that we are all agreed. We all desire the uplift of Bengal through the spread of education. As to methods we may differ; our ideals

are one. I desire with you, for instance, the maintenance of a real centre of advanced teaching and research in Calcutta, because I know that so far from Bengal having too many educated people, it has not enough. Our education may not all of it be of the right kind; some of our standards may, perhaps, be too low. If I may quote a saying of Mr. Fisher, with whom, when he was Minister of Education, I was privileged to work before I left England, we too may sometimes have cause to say that "the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way." "But if so," asked Mr. Fisher, "who is responsible?" "The culprit," he said, "is the nation. It cannot be too urgently represented that the future of the children of the people, so far as it is affected by education, depends on the number of men and women in the community who can be found to insist on a high educational standard in their various localities."

These words were applied by Mr. Fisher to schools in England, but there is no doubt that in many of our schools also the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way. But admitting this, what is the remedy? We must bring those of our students who are to be teachers into contact with the highest possible intellectual stimulus and under the best possible of all those other agencies which contribute to the making, intellectually, physically and spiritually, of the good citizen. So long as your Post-Graduate Department is doing this—it is preparing men capable of raising the present low standard of the schools, and is thereby contributing to the making of that Bengali nation which is on the anvil to-day.

If you can in Calcutta create and maintain a real centre of original thought and culture, its effect on the schools and so on the nation at large must eventually be felt. So without entering into details, as to forms and methods which the Committee is at present considering, I repeat that in some form or other your Post-Graduate Department is a civic and national necessity; for from it will or should emanate those currents of thought which will in time break down the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which at present hamper the nation's development. In particular I would express a hope that the band of writers and thinkers whom you are gathering in this home of learning may produce in their pupils a passionate desire to carry the torch of knowledge to every village in Bengal. When every young man who leaves your doors with the hall-mark of your stamp upon him also bears upon his heart the imprint of a burning passion to extend the light of knowledge to those millions of men and women who make up the bulk of the Bengali nation—the masses—then you will know that you are doing a work for Bengal that is of more value to it than the production of many volumes of research. For gradually you will produce that organized public opinion which must be behind any Minister of Education who is bold enough to tackle the problem of school education, both primary and secondary, and to face its financial implications. Just as in the words of the Sadler Commission's report "the main economic purpose of the co-operative movement is to democratise credit, one chief aim of the educational institutions of India should be to democratise

knowledge." The cure for most of your ills is education, education and more education, not for the few, but for the many. Three decades ago, the Commissioners on Technical Education went from England to Switzerland. A Swiss witness said to them: "We know that the mass of our people must be poor; we are determined that they shall not also be ignorant." As a result of that spirit the Swiss in waging war against ignorance, put poverty to flight as well, and so it might well be in Bengal. Let your University and especially its Post-Graduate Department be a centre of thought and culture from whence can flow those continuing currents which will democratise knowledge, and diffuse a steadier judgment and a better-informed opinion through the whole body of the community. Until the ultimate urge of its stimulus reaches right down through the secondary schools to the primary schools and the villages, you are not fulfilling your function in that full measure which the nation expects of you. Therefore, I say, whatever you teach your young men or your advanced students of research, send them out filled with an enlightened patriotism, with a healthy impatience of ignorance and prepared to wage a holy war against illiteracy until this reproach on the fair name of Bengal is for ever removed.

With you all, and especially with the young men and women who are to-day receiving those parchments which testify to their intellectual attainments, I would like to leave this suggestion of a holy war against ignorance, wherever it is found. Culture loses half its savour, if it is enjoyed in the midst of ignorance. It is idle to dream of building

the nationhood of Bengal upon a foundation of widespread illiteracy. Educate the people and other problems will solve themselves. Some of you, perhaps, know that wonderful speech of Mr. Gladstone at Glasgow in 1892. In a striking *simile* he told of that ancient legend of the two Lacedaemonian heroes called Caster and Pollux—

“honoured in their life and more honoured in their death, when a star was called after them. Upon that star the fond imagination of the people fastened lively conceptions, for they thought that when a ship at sea was caught in a storm, when dread began to possess the minds of the crew, and peril thickened around them, and alarm was giving place to despair, that if then in the high heavens this star appeared, gradually and gently, but effectually, the clouds disappeared, the winds abated, the towering billows fell down to the surface of the deep, calm came where there had been uproar, safety came where there had been danger. and under the beneficent influence of this heavenly body the terrified and despairing crew came safely to port.”

Ladies and gentlemen, can we not somehow, in the midst of the troubles which surround us, find our Castor and Pollux—our day star of hope—in this sacred nation-building task of education? When we differ and are about to despair of the possibility of progress at all, let us gaze up at that star and remind ourselves that our aims are one, that in the prosperity and happiness of the people

of this nation is the ultimate and final object of all our common efforts. For the goal to which we all aspire is the good of Bengal, and with that star to guide us we may safely set sail into the unknown seas of the future, assured that should we ever be depressed by forebodings or sunk in despair, one glance at that star will remind us of our common ideal, and bring us safely into the harbour of tranquility, of friendly associated effort, and of triumphant co-operative achievement.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize-distribution of the Barrackpore Park School, on 22nd February 1925.

MR. HEADMASTER AND GENTLEMEN,

Lady Lytton and I are delighted to meet once, more the staff and students of our Barrackpore School. Her Excellency was very disappointed at having to miss meeting you last year and she has asked me to tell you how pleased she is that you have arranged your prize-giving this year on a date when she could be present. As she is leaving for England this week, this was the very last day on which it would have been possible for her to be here.

I need not repeat what I have said in former years about the interest which we both take in this school. That, I hope, is known to you by now. At first my interest was in the nature of a legacy—I told you that I was interested in the school because of its important history and because for nearly 90 years a long succession of Viceroys and the last two Governors of Bengal had assisted at your prize-givings, and I was glad to carry on the tradition. But now after meeting you here for three years in succession, after hearing the good reports of your progress and listening with interest and admiration to your excellent recitations, the character of my interest has changed, and I feel now a personal—almost a 'proprietary interest in the school. It is, therefore, not merely because Lord Auckland founded this school and his sister, Miss Eden, wrote affectionately about the "Little Barrackporeans," not merely because my father and mother once stood where I am now standing and

listened to the recitations of your predecessors in the school, while I slept in my perambulator under those trees; it is not merely because the Governors of Bengal have succeeded to the Viceroys of India in enjoying the beauties of Barrackpore that we welcome you here to-day, but because we feel that we are now well acquainted with you and are meeting old friends.

I may remind the Headmaster that on two previous occasions when I addressed the members of the school I dealt with something which seemed either to him or to me to constitute a menace to the interests or welfare of the school, and I was at pains to set your fears at rest and to assure you that they were groundless. The first year, you will remember, the Headmaster told me how fearful he and his staff were of the retrenchment with which I and my Government were at that time occupied. The Headmaster told me of his anxiety lest in cutting down our expenditure we might not have money enough to support your school and others as efficiently as they had been supported in the past. I told you in reply that you need have no fears, because I and my Government were retrenching not in order to spend less but in order that we might have more to spend upon education. I think I was able to assure you last year that you had not suffered from retrenchment, and that fear was dispelled. Last year I myself raised the bogey and I told you that I was at that time myself, very anxious lest the Legislative Council in a destructive mood might provide insufficient funds for education. That danger also has passed. I am quite satisfied that they have not only no intention

of starving education in Bengal, but they know now that it is not in my power to restore any money which they may refuse. So, these two menaces to the interests of the school have disappeared. In addressing you this year I have asked myself whether any cloud was visible on the horizon, any further trouble ahead. There is one thing that I want to mention, because, if it is not explained, it may, perhaps, appear to be a menace to the interests not of the Headmaster and the staff, but of the students of the school. I was on Saturday attending the Convocation of the University of Calcutta whose degrees the students of this school no doubt will aspire some day to obtain or, at any rate, whose Matriculation Examination they hope some day to pass. I was assured by the Vice-Chancellor that there was a prospect that before long the standard of the Matriculation would be raised and I expressed great satisfaction at the prospect. I can well imagine that the students who are preparing to pass this examination may take a different view of the prospect; but I want to assure you that as in previous years in this matter you have nothing to fear. You would be very impatient if in your sports you were obliged to jump over a low bar when you could easily clear a higher one. So in your work I am perfectly satisfied from the very encouraging report of the school, which the Headmaster has just read, that the students will have no difficulty in taking as easily the higher standard as they did in the past the lower standard and will derive more satisfaction from taking it. I am particularly interested in the figures of the percentage of attendance which the Headmaster

read out in his report. Thirty-six boys have never missed a day and the attendance percentage of the whole school is 89—that is a very remarkable achievement. Shakespeare speaks of the—

“Whining schoolboy with his satchel
And smiling morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school.”

You have satchels and smiling morning faces no doubt, but you do not, it seems, “creep unwillingly to school.” It is evident from the figures I have just quoted that you and your parents realize and appreciate the value of your school. This is no doubt due to the fact that all the different aspects of school life receive their due attention. In addition to your class work which, if you are like other boys all the world over, you probably value the least, the Headmaster’s report speaks of games and athletics, physical exercises, debates, excursions, the school magazine, etc. In all these various activities you will be able to learn the value of fellowship and common membership in a community which will fit you for citizenship in a wider community hereafter.

I congratulate the school authorities on the success of Mr. S. K. Haldar. I have no doubt that he is as proud of his school as the boys are proud of him. I hope that his example will be followed by other students of the school, so that at a future prize-giving my successor may have the pleasure of hearing of your successes as ex-students of the school. In conclusion, I hope the school may pursue uninterrupted the successful course it has followed in the past, and I pray that upon each one of you the star of success may shine brightly throughout your lives.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Church Education League, on 23rd February 1925.

GENTLEMEN,

A few days ago when I was addressing a meeting of the Calcutta League of Women Workers in Government House I took occasion to remark that in England a very large proportion of the social and political activities of the people was carried on by unofficial organizations and owed nothing to Government. I went on to explain the kind of movements which could not be successfully conducted by a Government and which required for their success the missionary spirit of enthusiastic idealists. From a much-abbreviated report of this speech I have been misrepresented in certain quarters and the statement has been attributed to me that there was no social service in India. Not only did I not say anything so foolish, but I was careful to pay a tribute to many examples of valuable social service which I had come across in India, and I have no doubt there are many other organizations with which I am not personally acquainted. What I did say was that owing to the habit in this country of expecting the Government to do everything, many of those activities which Government cannot undertake remained undone—the needs which Government cannot supply remained unmet—that is not an expression of opinion, but a statement of fact. Now the work with which the Church Education League is occupied, is just

one of those objects which no Government can achieve, and if it were not for the existence of the League, it would not be done at all. Its ideal in the words of your report for 1923 is "to endeavour to provide for the children of the Anglican Church the means whereby they may be grounded in the great principles of the Christian faith and practice." Now that is an ideal which requires enthusiasm and faith almost to the point of passion to achieve.

At the Convocation last Saturday I appealed to the graduates of Calcutta University to undertake a Holy War upon ignorance and to carry the torch of learning into every village of Bengal. The members of this League, who have taken charge of the spiritual welfare of those children who belong to the Anglican Church, must also play their part in that crusade. I hope that the Government of Bengal, however constituted, may always be relied upon to provide schools for the teaching of children of all communities, but those who want to add to the advantages of a purely secular education the inspiration of a particular religious faith must shoulder that responsibility themselves and provide the funds necessary to its fulfilment. Mr. Fisher, who was recently Minister of Education in England and is now Warden of New College, Oxford, once said—"We assume that education is one of the good things of life which should be more widely shared than has hitherto been the case among the children and young persons of the country. We assume the education should be the education of the whole man spiritually, intellectually, and physically."

When speaking at St. Xavier's College last December, I pointed out that boys go to school and thence to college to obtain the requisite education and training for mind, character and body, and I was able to congratulate that college on the success with which they fulfilled those three requirements.

It is characteristic of missionary schools in Bengal, which I have everywhere noticed, that they view the three aspects in their proper perspective and this is the secret of their great success. The Church Education League pays special attention to the moral and spiritual elements of the programme which Mr. Fisher enunciated. It aims at ensuring that the spiritual needs of those children who are the object of its attention shall receive adequate attention. In this effort it is entitled to look for the support of all members of the Anglican Church. The report for the year 1924 speaks of the difficult problem of securing an adequate annual income and of the hard struggle to make their means sufficient for their ends. But, gentlemen, this problem should not be so difficult of solution. We are told in the report that one rupee a month from each church member in the Diocese would enable the League to relieve all church schools of financial worry. That is not a large sum—four annas a week—think of it four annas a week, 12 rupees a year from every church member would ensure the financial stability of every church school. If that sum is not forthcoming, it is because churchmen don't care to support their schools, and if they don't care it can only be because they don't know either of their existence or their needs. I hope this meeting will help to make these facts better known.

I would impress on Europeans and especially members of the Church of England their duty towards the schools of the city. "The child is father of the man" and no charity is so fruitful or such a good investment for the future of the country as one that assists the education of the young, especially if the education is one which is inspired by a spiritual ideal. The experience of every generation adds to the weight of evidence that it is ideas rather than force which rule the world. Without some ideal, as the guiding principle of life, no real progress is ever made, no real success achieved. Of all the books which I have read in the last two years, the one that has interested me the most I think is the "Life and Letters of Walter Page" and those letters bring out very clearly the ideal which guided him throughout his life and which explains the attitude which he took up towards the politics both internal and foreign of his own country. The most striking characteristic of Walter Page's nature was his sympathy with, and interest in, the masses, and the ideal which he set himself was the improvement and development of the average man, or, as he graphically described him, "the forgotten man." The only acceptable measure of any civilization, he believed, was the extent to which it improved the condition of the common citizen, the real test of a satisfactory state of society was the extent to which it enables the masses to participate in education, in the necessities and comforts of existence, in the right of self-evolution and self-expression and in that "equality of opportunity which was the basis of

social progress." This explains his attitude during the great war, this explains also the enthusiasm with which he studied the problem of hook-worm in his own Southern States, the energy which he devoted to the campaign for its eradication and the insistence with which he pleaded for the sympathy and support of the wealthy and influential. He was largely instrumental in initiating a movement, which had the most far-reaching results in the moral and material development of the people of the Southern States of America, a movement from which other countries afflicted with hook-worm may also ultimately derive benefit. He felt that with the liberation of the masses from the enervating parasite that consumed all their energies, a new generation would result. His attitude towards illiteracy was similarly explained. Of the several manifestations of democracy, as he interpreted it, he placed first in order of importance Education, and it was probably his enthusiasm for his mission of educating "The Forgotten Man" and improving the fundamental opportunities and the every-day social advantages of the masses that made him emerge from the editor and writer into public life. May I remind you of some words which I quoted at Dacca last year which embody his creed of democracy. "I believe," he said, "that by the right training of men we add to the wealth of the world. All wealth is the creation of man and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and the more men we train, the more wealth everyone may create."

Mr. Fisher emphasized this when he said "The capital of a country does not consist in cash or

paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it." Yes, and I would add in the souls of the people also. The Church Education League lays special emphasis on the education of the spiritual man, which must share with the other two partners the attention of the true education-
 alist. In helping the Church Education League, you will be helping to build up the soul as well as the brains and bodies of your countrymen in India and thus filling them in their turn with a desire to improve the lot of their generation. Some of you may have heard a preacher in the Cathedral quite recently state that the failure of the world's successive civilizations was due to the fact that the progress of the spirit had not kept pace with that of the mind. Let us see to it that so far as lies in our power we may remove this reproach. We have here a means of ensuring that the spirit, the soul of future generations, in one section of the community at least shall receive such attention as will enable it to keep pace with the intellect. The Church Education League not only makes an appeal, it offers us an opportunity. Let us take what is offered and give what is asked, and by so doing we shall be doubly blessed.

*Informal Address presented by the Commissioners,
Asansol Municipality, on 25th February 1925.*

We, the Commissioners of the Asansol Municipality, gladly avail ourselves of this unique opportunity to extend to Your Excellency and the Countess of Lytton a most cordial and loyal welcome to Asansol.

2. This is the first occasion that Asansol has been honoured by a visit from a Governor of Bengal, and the inhabitants both of the municipality and of the surrounding district greatly appreciate this signal honour.

3. The last occasion on which Asansol was visited by the Head of the Executive was during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir Edward Baker and during the intervening period both Asansol and its subdivision have increased greatly in prosperity through the development of the coal-fields and the founding of many industrial undertakings, so that Asansol has now become the centre of one of the most important industrial areas in the whole of India. For this reason the inhabitants of the subdivision look forward with hope to the conversion of the subdivision in the near future into a district, and we trust that Your Excellency's visit will impress upon Your Excellency the appropriateness of such a hope.

4. With Your Excellency's kind permission, we desire to bring to Your Excellency's notice a few of the many needs and wants of the town of Asansol which, owing to the limited resources at

our disposal, we are unable to meet without the help of Your Excellency's benevolent Government.

5. For some time past we have been endeavouring to secure a system of piped water-supply for the town, but without success owing to want of funds. The East Indian Railway, we understand, has at present under preparation a scheme for enlarging its existing water-supply within the railway settlement, and we earnestly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure that the system may be extended to the non-railway area of the municipality on the payment of a contribution compatible with our resources. Your Excellency may also be pleased to recommend to the Railway Administration the desirability of supplying electric current for lighting certain dangerous cross-ways within this municipality.

6. A scheme for the introduction of free primary education within municipal limits and the substitution of three main primary schools with well-trained staffs in place of the existing scattered institutions has recently received the attention of the Commissioners.

The scheme depends for its fruition upon the co-operation of the East Indian Railway authorities whose views on the proposal are now awaited by the Commissioners.

7. The East Indian Railway Aided High School, the only high English school for Indian boys in Asansol, is unable to meet the daily increasing demand for secondary education, and the establishment of another high school in the town is eagerly

looked for, and would be hailed with great gratitude not only by the people of this town, but also by those of the surrounding rural areas which depend on the town for the provision of secondary education. We pray, therefore, that it may please Your Excellency to have a Government school, established in the near future in this important industrial centre.

8. The Commissioners look forward eagerly to the early re-enactment of the Bengal Municipal Act which will be a fitting memorial of Your Excellency's administration of the municipal government of this province.

9. In conclusion, we fervently pray that Your Excellencies' stay here may be an enjoyable and interesting one, and that both Your Excellency and the Countess of Lytton will retain the happiest and pleasantest memories of your visit to Asansol.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Informal
Address presented by the Asansol
Municipality, on 25th February 1925.***

MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS AND GENTLEMEN,

I thank you on behalf of Lady Lytton and myself for the warm welcome you have given us to this industrial centre of Bengal. My official tours have already taken me all over the agricultural areas of the province. I have visited the headquarters of every district. I have seen the wealth produced by the paddy fields, the jute districts and the tea gardens of Bengal; I have seen the cultivation of the tea bush and its manufacture into tea; I have witnessed all the various processes of jute from the sowing of the seed to the final stage which it reaches in the mills which line the banks of the Hooghly; but I have not as yet been privileged to see the wealth created and produced by purely industrial undertakings. I have, therefore, been looking forward to this visit with peculiar interest as it will teach me something of the industrial life of the province and thus complete my experience. I hope to learn from this visit, hurried though it must necessarily be, something of the extent and potentialities of the industrial activities which are to be found here. A visit to Asansol has also a special interest for the Governor of this Presidency, as it is here that coming out from England to take up his charge he first enters his province. Asansol is thus the gateway of his official life, and I will remember the day—now three years ago—when my Private

Secretary joined my train and I was informed that I had entered the Province of Bengal.

I was surprised to hear that coal was first discovered here as long ago as in 1775, but I understand that the industry did not begin to flourish and expand to any great extent until the middle of the last century, when its prosperity was assured. In fact a hundred years ago the whole of the tract was a wilderness of forest and jungle with but a few small clearings; now it is one of the busiest centres of industry in India and its coal and iron fields are filled with a population of busy miners and artisans, all contributing very extensively to the wealth of the country.

The people of this subdivision are justly proud of their romantic history, of the legacy which they have inherited and of the contributions which they are making towards its enrichment. Your aspirations for the development of the town and its neighbourhood, as indicated in the informal address, which you, gentlemen, have been good enough to present to me, are expression of that legitimate pride.

With your anxiety to introduce amenities and conveniences necessitated by the growing importance of the place I have every sympathy.

The provision of an up-to-date water-supply is clearly an amenity which you are justified in aspiring to, but I understand that you doubt whether you can afford to pay the contribution which the railway would demand from you if you were to share in their scheme of supply, and that the scheme which was prepared five years ago for a separate supply is also beyond your means.

Some reduction of the cost is, therefore, necessary to bring either of these alternatives within your means. Ultimately you will have to choose between them, but it would be well for you in the first instance to explore each of them a little farther. If you will formulate definite proposals and inform the railway authorities exactly how much water you will require and what is the maximum you can contribute to the necessary extension of their waterworks, to their annual maintenance, and to the distribution of water, you will then be able to ascertain whether or not such co-operation is a matter of practical politics. At the same time you might explore the possibility of cheapening sufficiently the scheme of 1920 to enable you to finance it with the co-operation of Government, the local bodies and the persons who will benefit.

You refer to the proposals for the spread of education in the town. You tell me that a scheme for the introduction of free primary education within the municipality has recently received the attention of the Commissioners. I am delighted to hear this, and I can promise you our support and co-operation when you submit a definite scheme with the assurance of a local contribution to meet half the expenditure, capital and recurring.

You also ask for the establishment of another high English school in Asansol. If this can be shown to be really necessary, the Education Department will examine your proposal with a view to making you a grant-in-aid, but I understand that the present high English school, which, I hope, to visit to-morrow, is one of the very best

in the province and I would ask you to consider whether your needs cannot be met by developing and extending this school rather than by building a second one. With regard to the existing high school, I am glad to be able to announce that Government have found it possible to pay a capital grant of Rs. 1,829, which is half the cost, for the improvement of the accommodation at the school this year, and orders will issue immediately. I understand also that the Secretary of the school has drawn up a scheme for increasing the pay and prospects of the teachers by means of an increase in the subscriptions from the railway, in the fees and in the Government grant. With regard to this also I can inform you that provided the other two increases have been arranged and our budget is passed by the Council next month, the Department will increase their grant next year so as to enable this scheme to be carried out.

You also ask me to recommend to the railway administration the desirability of supplying electric current for lighting the dangerous cross-ways in the municipality. I think it would be desirable for you to discuss the matter with the railway authorities yourselves, but this is a matter primarily for the Government of India, who have recently laid down a general principle that a railway's plant should not be enlarged for purposes other than the business of the undertaking and that, in any case, if electricity were supplied in this way, it should be charged for at commercial rates. Unless, therefore, you can convince the railway administration that the proposal is a matter in which they are directly interested and will not

involve an enlargement of their plant, I am afraid you must wait until you can remedy the want yourselves.

The introduction of the Bengal Municipal Bill has been held in abeyance owing to the absence of Ministers. So long as there are no Ministers there can obviously be no legislation regarding transferred subjects as there is no one to take charge of such Bills. We have a Bill in draft however, and I hope that the Legislative Council will soon restore the conditions in which it can be introduced. The prospect at the moment looks a little brighter, but the chance of a stable Ministry depends upon the extent to which the 75 members who voted in favour of some Ministers are prepared to subordinate personal considerations and agree to support particular individuals. If the Council provides salaries for Ministers when the budget comes up for discussion next month, it will be for the Minister, whom I shall have appointed to take charge of the portfolio of Local Self-Government, to consider whether he desires to re-introduce and proceed with the Municipal Bill.

I gather that perhaps the ambition which you are most anxious to see gratified is the conversion of this subdivision into a separate district—a request that you base on the development of the coal-fields and other industrial undertakings and the increase of business arising therefrom; much of which business in present conditions has to be transacted at a distance in Burdwan instead of on the spot at Asansol. I gather also that civic and local pride, which I certainly sympathize with and welcome is also partly responsible for the demand.

This is an important matter which deserves more time than I am able to devote to-day to its consideration, but I am afraid I cannot hold out any hope of this change being effected within the near future. Certain administrative arrangements have already been made towards securing the objects you have in view, as for instance, the posting of a Subordinate Judge and an independent Additional Superintendent of Police at Asansol and the enjoyment of partial independence by the Local Board. I recognize that these will not satisfy your requirements if the district continues to grow. But it is all that we can do at present in the direction which you desire. There are other districts in greater need of partition than Burdwan and our experience in trying to carry out the partition of Mymensingh does not encourage us to make another attempt here until we are satisfied that the Legislative Council would welcome such a step.

Well, gentlemen, I think I have replied at as great a length as you would expect, knowing that I have two very full days ahead of me. I am anxious to see as much as I possibly can while I am here of the industrial life of this part of the province, the working of the coal mines and the industries which depend so intimately on those mines. I am anxious to see the wealth which is created and produced for the country, and the conditions under which labour lives and works. I have arranged my programme so that I can see the various stages and phases of this industrial life in every aspect and have, therefore, included in it besides visits to the coal mines and iron works which will enable me to see the most up-to-date

methods at work, an inspection of the activities of the Mines Board of Health. I am particularly anxious to learn more about this interesting experiment. I have heard much of the results which the Board has achieved. I want to know more of the methods which it has adopted to achieve those results as I hope to find that similar methods applied in other parts of the province would produce an equally satisfactory improvement in the public health of Bengal.

I will conclude by thanking you for the warmth of the welcome you have extended to us and by expressing a hope for the continued prosperity of this subdivision and the industrial life which it represents.

***His Excellency's Speech at the Prize
distribution of the La Martinière, on
4th March 1925.***

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to have an opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of the staff and students of a school in which I have taken a deep—and indeed a very anxious—interest ever since I came to Bengal, and I am still more pleased to be able to meet you on an occasion when the cause of my anxiety and yours has been removed and we can look forward together to a period of increased prosperity.

The satisfactory reports which Miss Coutts and Mr. Holme have read to us make it clear that in the La Martinière Schools, Calcutta has two educational institutions which aim at the best public school traditions and in many respects realize their aim.

These reports contain not a few cheering messages; in the first place, the results of outside examinations appear to have been extremely good in both schools and I wish particularly to congratulate Eric Brittar on his success in the Higher School Certificate Examination and on the award of the Founder's Gold Medal: I am glad to hear that he has been awarded a State Scholarship and is now continuing his studies at the London School of Economics, and I trust that he will, in future years, bring added lustre to the name of La Martinière.

The account of the out-of-class activities of the school is equally satisfactory and I congratulate the students on their athletic successes. The Principal is right, I think, in saying that it is better to be beaten by a superior team than to defeat without effort a markedly inferior one. But I can well imagine how discouraging it must be to have to contend always with impossible odds. An occasional success, if hardly won, is a great encouragement in life, and I should be sorry if such opportunities were denied to you altogether. I think the school athletic teams deserve the highest praise for the pluck and perseverance with which they have continually met other teams superior in weight, age and experience, and also on the success with which they have at last been rewarded.

I should like also to congratulate the staff of the school who have had a rather similar experience. Like the athletic teams they have had to contend with superior odds. The burden of debt has been upon them and they have been haunted by the shadow of dismissal due to the necessity of retrenchment. They, too, have shown great courage and patience. They have worked with sympathy and loyalty under most trying and difficult circumstances. They, too, I hope, will now have their reward. The clouds are passing away. The sunshine of hope is breaking through, and a vista of bright prosperity is opening before us.

All this is due to the splendid generosity of an old student of the school.

It is very right that your founder's memory should be commemorated each year, so that succeeding generations of boys and girls may not forget the debt which they owe to him. "Let us now praise famous men," says Ecclesiasticus, and the founder of such schools, as these, should be famous in the eyes of those who benefit by his generosity and charity. But in future you will have, I think, to preserve the memory of Paul Chater along with that of Claude Martin; you will need to remember with gratitude your saviour as well as your founder.

You will have to think out how you can best keep alive in the minds of future generations of boys and girls the memory of Sir Paul Chater, but I venture to make a suggestion which will, I think, prove more popular with the students than with the staff of the school. When I was at school we used to have a whole holiday on every Saint's day and my knowledge of the saints in the Christian calendar is, I am afraid, solely derived from this excellent custom. I have never had any opinion of a saint who was not a holiday saint. I suggest, therefore, that you should have an annual holiday on Chater day. And every year upon that day let the students of the school be told of what they owe to the generosity of Sir Paul Chater so that "from this day to the ending of the world" his name shall be by succeeding generations "freshly remembered."

There are one or two things which I want to say about this new endowment. The first is concerning the attitude of the Government. Sir

Paul's donation came, as you know, at a very critical hour in the school's financial history. It was so critical that Government last year gave you, in addition to your ordinary grants, a special grant of Rs. 30,000 as a non-recurring donation for one year. Had your position been equally desperate this year, Government would have done what was essential again, though it would have called upon the Governors to take whatever steps might have been necessary, as soon as possible, to stabilise matters, however ruthless the retrenchment involved. Fortunately this did not become necessary, and Sir Paul Chater has done for you permanently what Government, with the many claims upon it from other schools, could only have done temporarily. This must not be taken to mean that because of this free gift, Government is going to withdraw or reduce its regular support. Government tries, like Providence, to help those who help themselves and we are not going back on this principle. Therefore, though there is now no necessity for any special, emergency grant from Government to tide you over a crisis you are entitled to expect for your normal development, a full share of any money which, as our own financial position improves, we may be able to devote to new recurring grants to schools.

The second thing I want to say relates to the attitude of the European community in Calcutta. I trust that Sir Paul Chater's donation will not be made an excuse by any of your present supporters to discontinue their subscriptions. The school is still in great need and magnificent, as is Sir Paul Chater's generosity, it does not by itself provide

a sufficient income to cover even existing expenditure, to say nothing of any expansion. There is a great deal still to be done, as the reports to which we have listened show. For instance, we shall have to face the problem of rebuilding the Girls' School; it is true that the difficulty has been temporarily alleviated by the lease of a neighbouring house, but this cannot be a permanent arrangement, and it is not economical, and there is a fear that if donations sufficient for rebuilding the school on its present site cannot be obtained, we may even have to contemplate selling the site and moving to the suburbs.

While we acknowledge our debt of gratitude to those to whose generosity we owe the foundation and the financial stability of La Martinière, it is not without some feelings of shame that we, Englishmen and Scotsmen of Bengal, have to confess that Calcutta's leading public school for English and Anglo-Indian boys and girls owes its conception to a Frenchman and its financial stability to one who, though a distinguished citizen of the British Empire, does not now belong to our city or our province. It reminds us, the second city of the Empire, too acutely of duties left unperformed. A letter received recently in Calcutta from a resident in 'Hong-Kong, says with a certain air of superiority, which is not altogether pleasant to a Calcutta man. "It is rather interesting that Calcutta should have to come to Hong-Kong for the support of its schools." Let us not forget that La Martinière School is a Calcutta institution and that its maintenance is a Calcutta obligation. We are not without our prosperous

merchant princes—English-Scotch, Armenian and Indian. I trust that they will be stimulated by Sir Paul Chater's example to remember their obligation to provide for the education of their own boys and girls.

• It may be that this timely help for the school comes from Hong-Kong, but its real significance lies in the fact that it comes from an old La Martinière boy. That is something of which the school is entitled to be proud. It shows how great an impression the school can make upon its pupils, what affection and what pride it can inspire. In conclusion, therefore, I would ask the boys and girls, who are students here to-day, to take this lesson to heart. Do not forget what your school has done for you and resolve that you in your turn will do something for your school. It may not be in the power of many of you to endow it with money on such a scale as Sir Paul Chater has done, but each one of you can do something to repay hereafter the benefits which you are receiving to-day. See to it that wherever you go and whatever you do you may prove yourselves worthy of the school in which you have been trained. I see by the programme that it is your custom to express the sentiment "*Vive La Martinière.*" When you use these words accompany them with a resolution in your hearts that La Martinière shall live in you and through you.

His Excellency's Address at the Convocation of Dacca University, on 6th March 1925.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN,

The University of Dacca meets to-day in its fourth Convocation, and I congratulate you on another year of vigorous growth. The satisfactory record of good work contained in your annual report for 1923-24 is proof that whatever the ultimate aim of each one of you for this your University may be, upon one thing at least you are all resolved. And that resolution is this, that while holding aloft in this outlying corner of India the torch of learning, and keeping it burning as brightly as in any other part of this vast Empire, Dacca shall stand as a continual reminder that man does not live by learning alone, but is a triple unity of mind and body and spirit, each one of which needs continual sustenance.

Let me say something about these three aspects in turn.

The long list of published works contained in the report, and the proceedings of the learned societies which exist within the University, show that you are resolved that your intellectual life shall reach the highest standards.

In this connection, too, I must congratulate you upon the remarkable statistics with regard to the use of the library in your University. One of the criticisms of the Sadler Commission was that in the colleges of the University of Calcutta students of

University courses read little more than their text-books and did not always read these. For a wide study of their subjects and for all other purposes the college libraries, they pointed out, remained practically unused. Now that is a criticism which cannot be made against Dacca University. Your last report shows remarkable figures: 33,982 books were borrowed from the library. Your total number of books is 34,755. For a University so small as yours these are striking figures. Carlyle once said that our education "depends on what we read, after all manner of professors have done their best for us." In this branch of education, the University is only carrying on the work of your first infant school, it is still teaching you though in a different sense to read, so that you can learn for yourselves. The taunt was first made, I think, by Carlyle, but has been repeated more recently by Mr. H. G. Wells, that "the University which would completely take in that great new fact of the existence of printed books, has not yet come into existence." In so far as that reproach is deserved and our colleges and universities fail to teach their students to use a library, then they do their work even less efficiently than within its scope the merest primary or middle school. I am glad to know that Dacca University has travelled so far in so short a time from the miserable standards which the Sadler Commission criticised, and has taught her students to value the printed books.

I have previously regretted, and must again express my regret, that you have lost your Professorship of Sanskrit. The lakh of rupees for which I appealed to endow the Chair has not yet been

obtained. Raja Janaki Nath Roy, of Bhagyakul, has contributed Rs. 5,000, and Rai Sahib Gour Nitai Sankanidhi, Rs. 7,500. These are both generous donations for which I am very grateful, but together they do not even make up one-eighth of the amount required. I trust that others will be found to supplement their gifts. Surely the wealthy Hindus of Bengal will see to it that Dacca University does not remain without a Chair in their great classical language.

I am glad to know that your series of Popular Lectures have been a success. They are a valuable feature of your work. I congratulate you on the honour done to Professor Mazumdar, and through him to you, by his selection as President of the Section of History and Archæology at the Triennial Oriental Congress held in Madras. I was also glad to learn that Professor Ghose had been appointed President of the Chemistry Section at the Benares Congress. It is evident that Dacca is maintaining its reputation among the Universities of India. This is also evidenced by the prominent part taken by your representatives and especially by your Vice-Chancellor, at the Universities Congress at Simla. I hope that the deliberations of that Congress will result in benefit to all the Indian Universities, and to Dacca in particular.

So much for the 'purely intellectual activities of the University. I pass now to the second of those three needs of the complete man which it should be the business of a University to provide. I mean the needs of the body. The reference to athletics in the reports of the Halls, especially that

sentence in one of them which says that the students "have created a fine record of true sportsmanship," shows that you are not neglecting that aspect of University life, which, though in many Western Universities it tends to assume undue prominence, cannot be neglected by any University without loss to its students. Last August I had the pleasure of seeing the University Football Team win a very well-contested match with the Victoria Sports Club, and of presenting to them the Ronaldshay Shield. I am delighted to learn that the cricket team has also won the Sen and Sen Cup. I rejoice at the statement in another report that games and the regular college life have contributed to an improvement in the health of the students. It is clear that in this respect, as in others, you are teaching your young men how to live a fresh and varied life, regulated on wise principles.

The third need—that of the spirit—is measured rather by what you give than by what you receive and that leads me to say something under this head about the opportunities for service which the University provides. All healthy-minded young men, at a certain stage of their lives, are inspired by a burning desire to devote themselves to great and noble causes; and unless it receives a natural outlet and is directed into beneficial directions, this impulse is certain to be exploited by mischief-makers. In those social service organizations, the members of which so kindly came and explained their work to me last year, you are wisely directing this impulse towards the uplift of the degraded and

the enlightenment of the ignorant. I quote from one of the reports:—

“The Social Service Section of the Hall has done splendid work. They carried on their work at the schools they have established at Kajirbagh with success. In addition to this, they have organized lantern lectures on sanitation for the villages, with the kind assistance of the Health Officers of the District Board and Municipality. They also interested themselves in removing the wants of the people in respect of water-supply, and have succeeded in interesting the Chairman of the Local Board, who has undertaken to sink a well in the village.”

The young men who are doing work of the kind referred to in this and the other reports are learning the lessons of the highest patriotism, which is to serve, and laying the firmest foundations on which to build a nation, which is self-reliance. In the literature of all countries in the past to die for one's country has been represented as the highest patriotism, but there is a higher which has yet to be learnt and that is to live for one's country. To give health and happiness and life to others may be both more difficult and more honourable than to surrender one's own. A nation cannot be composed exclusively of leaders, and leaders without followers can accomplish nothing. The practical application of this obvious truth must be learnt at school and college if it is to be learnt at all. What India needs above all to-day is a widespread knowledge of what the nation needs for its health and happiness and a plentiful supply of men competent to

minister to those needs without waiting for direction from above. The work of social service, which is being so earnestly studied and practised in this University, affords the best possible indication that Dacca is going to make a valuable contribution to the solution of the social and economic difficulties of the country. Since I had the pleasure of conferring with the members of your organizations last year, I have myself become more intimately acquainted with two valuable movements which are having a most far-reaching effect upon the public health of the districts in which they operate. The first is the admirable work of the Anti-malarial Co-operative Health Societies organized throughout the province under the inspiration and direction of Rai Gopal Chandra Chatterji Bahadur, and the other is the equally remarkable work of the Asansol Mines Board of Health under the direction of Dr. Tomb. I commend these two movements to the special notice of your social service students. If you will study their methods and learn all you can of the remarkable results which they have achieved, you will, I am sure, derive as I did, both great enlightenment and immense encouragement.

I am tempted here to develop somewhat the topic which I dealt with in my Convocation address at Calcutta a fortnight ago. I said then that the University would not be doing its duty to the nation to the full unless the urge of its stimulus reached right down through the schools to the villages, and I pointed out that the nationhood of Bengal could not be built on a foundation of widespread illiteracy. I should like to elaborate my

meaning here. Is there one person in Bengal who, honestly facing the facts, can believe that on the present basis of local and provincial taxation any real advance in either primary or secondary education is possible? I doubt whether any complete system of education, primary, secondary, and university, can be introduced at a much less cost than a sum approaching three hundred lakhs per annum; and even then it will be far below the level of the advanced countries of the West, or of Japan. How is this money to be obtained? Revise the Meston award say some. This, of course, is a necessary preliminary to any advance, but we cannot build up a satisfactory system on our profits from that revision alone, if and when it comes. The people have got to be convinced that it is worth their while to permit Government, and especially local bodies, to take from them money which at present they dare not ask for in the face of popular objection, and to give it back to them in the shape of schools, better roads, wells, machinery for the prevention and treatment of disease, and so on. Education, sanitation, etc., are transferred subjects; the people of Bengal can do just as they like in this matter. They can give their money, and have these things if they so desire; they can keep their money, and do without them. It is for them through their representatives to decide. But before they can be in a position to decide such an issue those centres of knowledge and culture such as universities and colleges where opinion crystallises and where youngmen's attitude to social and political problems is largely formed, must play their part. Gradually, if those centres of thought

do their duty, the leaders of political and social opinion in Bengal will cease to think of Government as a source from which all manner of boons can flow, and will, facing the facts honestly, tell the people of this country that only by sacrifices, far greater than those hitherto contemplated, can they banish for ever from their land the stigma of illiteracy and the nightmare of disease. You, gentlemen, will be the makers of opinion, but before you can form the opinions of others, you must base your own opinions upon study and experience. Learn, therefore, as much as you can of practical experience all over the world. Be impatient of theories, be greedy for facts; do not employ words to conceal thought or be slipshod in their use, search for reality beyond appearances and bring a university-trained mind to bear on all the problems of life.

I desire to congratulate the Halls on the good record of work which their reports reveal. The main centre of the student's life is clearly his Hall, and I am glad to find these Halls are realizing in practice the hopes of those who planned them. May I again single out the Muslim Hall for a special word of mention? The number of students attached and resident is now 360, and it is clear that the Hall is, under Mr. Rahman's sympathetic and wise guidance, doing a great work for the Moslem community. As I said in laying the foundation-stone of the Islamia College at Calcutta, Moslems, even in distant rural areas, are becoming convinced that English education is after all a worthy education even for the most pious, that even in our modern universities' culture can still

be the handmaid of religion, as it was in the great intellectual centres of the famous empires of the faith, and that a Moslem can devote himself to those studies, which are essential if he is to take his rightful share in the making of modern India, without peril to his immortal soul. To this realization the Moslem Hall has been helpful in contributing, as in the fullness of time I am sure the Islamia College at Calcutta, now rising rapidly upon its foundations, will also contribute. The future of Moslem Bengal is in the keeping of these two institutions—the Moslem Hall and the Islamia College. And while I am on this subject, let me again thank Khan Bahadur Musharuf Husain for his generous gift of Rs. 20,000 to further the interests of his co-religionists at Dacca and the Islamia College. I trust that this gift will form the nucleus of a large fund for the extension of Moslem education.

But I must not end on a sectional note. Convinced though I am that communal institutions have their place in the present stage of Bengal's development, I will conclude by directing your attention rather to those aspects which unite you all. In your University life some interests must necessarily separate you. One, at least, should unite you all. You can all resolve that the University of Dacca shall command your whole-hearted and united allegiance; that her reputation shall be to you as your own; that she shall be to each one of you, Moslem, Hindu or Christian, a mother of whose honour you are jealous, and at whose feet, inspired by memories of what she has done for you, you are now prepared, and will for

ever be prepared, to lay offerings of service, and devotion. As yet the spirit of reverence, almost of worship, towards the *alma mater*, the kindly mother, nurturer of our mind and heart, has scarcely developed in India. You may develop it in Dacca. Are there any of you who think of Dacca, of your University, merely as a place which mulcts you in fees, and in return grudgingly doles out degrees? Will the memory of Dacca ten years hence cause you any emotion? Will you regard an occasional visit to it in future as a high privilege, and a renewed draught from the wells of spirit? Or will you leave it without a pang, and regard it as an experience, which once completed, you put behind you for ever?

On Wednesday last I presided at a prize-giving at La Martinière School in Calcutta to which an old boy of the school had recently contributed as an endowment the princely sum of six lakhs of rupees. That was evidence of the affection and gratitude which a school can inspire, and as an instance of a similar sentiment inspired by a University let me quote to you what Matthew Arnold wrote about Oxford—

“Steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection—to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?”

Gentlemen, round the name of Dacca, as the national University of Eastern Bengal, will you not help to build up a tender regard, a filial devotion, a patriotic sentiment, in the hearts of her sons, similar to those which Oxford and Cambridge have for so long inspired? She has beauty: Dacca, too, can spread her gardens to the moonlight: her towers, acknowledged by all to be fair, may yet whisper enchantments, if not of antiquity, yet of beauty and intellectual truth and high scholarly devotion. I should like to feel that one of those whom I am addressing to-day, may, after forty or fifty years of struggle and effort towards the making of modern Bengal, write of Dacca in the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone wrote of his University, two generations after he had left it—

“She had initiated, if not inured me to the pursuit of truth as an end of study. I declare that while in the arms of Oxford, I was possessed through and through with single-minded and passionate love of truth, with a virgin love of truth, so that, although I might be swathed in clouds of prejudice there was something of an eye within, that might gradually pierce them.”

Build in that spirit on foundations of reverence and devotion. You will then build for Bengal a possession for ever, and lay firm the foundations of your national life and your political unity. United in your passion for Dacca, you will thereby learn to unite for that greater task of nation-making to which you are all even now imperatively being summoned by the impetuous onrush of the events of our stirring days.

"Things of a day," wrote the poet Pindar, things of a day ! a dream of a shadow is mankind. Yet when there comes down glory imparted from God, radiant light shines among men and genial days." In the spectrum of that glory one principal line is that honest dealing with the intellect which flashed upon mankind with the Greeks, and which we sometimes dare to hope is a feature of our modern world. Clothed in the beauty of this divine splendour, go forth from these walls haters of shams, scorers of the superficial, dissipators of prejudice, seekers after knowledge and truth, workers for unity, and in your search for ever greater and better things "be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling, not a mere grovelling thing, that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

His Excellency's Address to the Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, when conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law, on 6th March 1925.

MR. HARTOG,

I am delighted that it should have fallen to my lot to confer upon you the high honour with which your colleagues on the Court have desired to signify their grateful appreciation of the singular services which you have rendered to the University as its first Vice-Chancellor. That this distinction has been fully merited, I am glad to bear witness from personal experience, and as Chancellor of the University I desire to thank you on its behalf for your single-minded devotion to its interests during the last four years.

As a member of the Calcutta University Commission you were fully acquainted with the shortcomings of our University education in this country and the direction in which reform was needed. You were, therefore, specially qualified to take charge of this new institution and to steer it along sound lines during the first year of its life. The University to-day is in a large measure your own product, and I hope that you feel proud of your child. You have certainly every reason to be so because, although only four years old, Dacca University has already made a name for itself in the world and has set a mark upon its students which has been recognized and appreciated beyond the limits of Bengal. The

establishment of the tutorial system is largely your work. Thanks to the efforts of you and your staff Dacca students have been taught to think for themselves and Dacca University has up to now derived more benefit from the recommendations of your Commission than the University in whose interests you laboured.

Yours has been an uphill task. You have had to prepare the ground and lay the foundations of a new institution. You have had to contend with great financial difficulties, and many of the conditions which you were led to expect when you took office as Vice-Chancellor, have not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, you have worked with patience, with courage and with industry, and you have your reward to-day in the appreciation of all your colleagues. We greatly regret that this should be the last Convocation at which we shall see you as our Vice-Chancellor. We part with you in sorrow, and we wish you happiness and success in the life which still lies before you. Wherever you go you will carry with you the sincere gratitude of those with whom and for whom you have laboured so conscientiously. I hope, too, that you will have the satisfaction of watching this University grow and prosper in the years to come on the foundations that you have so well laid.

By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chancellor of this University, I hereby confer on you, Philip Joseph Hartog, Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, the degree of Doctor of Law, *honoris causa*.

***His Excellency's Speech in laying the
Foundation-stone of the Lytton Hall, on-
6th March 1925.***

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You have asked me to lay the foundation-stone of a building which, when completed, should prove to be a great boon to the Dacca Hall. I understand the present arrangements for developing the corporate life of the Hall are quite inadequate, and it is this gap that the Assembly Room is designed to fill. The building will consist of a general room for debates and meetings, a library sufficiently large to allow of the convenient arrangement of all the present stock and yet admits of expansion in the future, and also offices. I am much honoured by your decision to give my name to this Hall, and I hope that it will remove to a very large extent the disabilities under which the students have been developing their social activities. I shall always be proud to have my name associated with one of the Halls of a University in which I take so deep an interest and for which I confidently predict a most illustrious future.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening
of the Dacca Training College Exhibi-
tion, on 7th March 1925.***

[The speech was read by Lady Hermione Lytton, as His Excellency could not attend owing to indisposition.]

MR. PRINCIPAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

All my life I have been deeply interested in the practice of teaching—chiefly, perhaps, because I have myself been much practised upon. I have been taught by nurses, by governesses, by tutors, by schoolmasters, by crammers, by University professors. I have even tried to learn by myself, unaided, and if I am not as learned as I should be after all these good people have worked upon me, I must be forgiven if I plead that the fault is theirs and not mine. They, of course, would contend the exact opposite and claim that no teacher could do anything with such unresponsive material! I admit at least that if I am to attribute the blame for my-ignorance to my teachers, I must be prepared to point out in what respects their technique has been defective and, therefore, in studying the methods of teaching I have always tried to test them by my experience as a pupil. The methods which succeeded in my case seem to me likely to succeed with others, those which failed in my case may in all probability fail with others.* This is, of course, not an entirely reliable *guide because, if there is one thing which every experienced teacher must know, it is that no two children are alike and that no method is equally successful with all.

Nevertheless, as a good working principle I commend this piece of reasoning to teachers. It is not much use their repeating as teachers the methods by which they themselves failed to learn, merely because they know no others.

Another general principle which I venture to commend to teachers—and which they are not likely to accept, because it is apt to offend their vanity—is that no child is unteachable. If, therefore, their pupils don't make as much progress as they desire, the fault is in the main their own. A child may be inattentive or slow or wilfully idle, but if so, that is because you have failed to inspire him with a wish to learn, and if you do not begin by doing that, all your labour will be thrown away. I should like to see this recognized by marking the teacher after examining the child!

In old days it used to be taken for granted that anyone who had been a successful learner must necessarily be a successful teacher, and many generations of children have suffered unnecessarily from this fallacy. In most of our schools in the past it has been truer, I think, to say that the lower forms have been the means of teaching inexperienced teachers how to teach than that experienced teachers have taught them how to learn.

It is at any rate generally acknowledged to-day that teaching is a profession which like all others has to be learnt, though I fear that the salaries which we still pay to our teachers is an indication of the small value which we attach to their services. The admission of this fact is, however, a great advance, and I have no hesitation in saying that a Teachers' Training College is without exception

the most important institution in any country, and the profession of teaching the most honourable and most responsible profession in the world.

The exhibition of teaching methods and theories, which the Dacca Training College for Teachers has organized, is evidence that that body takes its responsibilities seriously and is anxious to provide those whom it trains with ample material for the study of their profession.

I very much regret that a sudden sharp indisposition has prevented me from seeing the Exhibition myself, but I have read with interest the little hand-book describing and explaining the exhibits, and this has been enough to assure me that I should have found it both interesting and valuable. If I had seen it I should have liked to comment upon some of its features. As it is, I must content myself with congratulating Mr. West upon the evidence of thorough research and the wide study of various experiments which this Exhibition reveals. It is admirable in its conception and extremely practical in its execution. I am certain that teachers and all who are interested in the profession of teaching, will derive the greatest benefit from visiting it. I commend it to the attention of the public.

I now declare the Exhibition open.

His Excellency's Speech at the Presidents' Conference, Dacca, on 7th March 1925.

[The Speech was read by the Commissioner, as His Excellency could not attend on account of indisposition]

GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to be able once again to open the Conference of Presidents in this district. On the other two occasions on which I have performed this duty I have been able to congratulate the district on the rapid growth of the movement, so far as that growth could be gauged by figures and statistics. I understand that the whole area of the district is now nearly covered and that only 46 of the old Chaukidari Unions remain. It is obvious that henceforth we must adopt a new measure of progress. From now onwards we must estimate the growth of this system of local self government exclusively by the character of the work which it accomplishes and the expansion of its activities without regard to the number of new Boards established, which must necessarily be a diminishing quantity. It is eminently satisfactory, I think, to have reached this stage. It may interest you perhaps to hear that the Secretary of State is taking a lively interest in the working of this system and has asked me to send him as much information as possible regarding the work of the Union Boards. It is always encouraging, I think, to know that one's work is being watched with sympathetic interest and I shall be able to give the Secretary of

State a very good report of the work which the Union Boards are doing in this part of Bengal.

These annual conferences play a very important part in your work and, as I have remarked on former occasions, have great value for various reasons. In the first place, a conference like this affords me an opportunity of publicly rewarding those Presidents who have done particularly good work and taken exceptional interest in the activities of their Boards, and of thus stimulating others to follow their examples.

Secondly, it brings together Presidents from all over the district and gives them an opportunity of meeting and exchanging views informally and however indirectly, this must be most advantageous to all concerned.

In the third place—and this I gather to be the primary object of such a conference—it enables the Presidents to meet formally and discuss methods of improving the system of extending the usefulness and range of the Boards; they can then bring their considered opinion to the notice of Government.

I now want to say something to you about the attitude of Government towards your resolutions: In the first place, I want to assure you that every one of the resolutions which you pass and forward to Government receives a most careful investigation. The very thoroughness with which we examine them often involves, I am afraid, considerable delay in replying to them. Many of your resolutions concern more than one department of Government, and a reference to all the departments

concerned necessarily increases the time which we have to devote to their consideration. You must not, therefore, attribute our delay in replying to indifference or assume that nothing is being done.

Further, I want to ask you not to measure the value of the views which you express merely by the acceptance or otherwise by Government of your recommendations. The resolutions which you pass, and the replies which are sent to you, must be regarded as a kind of joint deliberation. Sometimes it may happen that your suggestions are found to be based upon some misapprehension which we are able to remove; sometimes there may be objections to what you propose of which you could not be aware and which we are able to point out. In both these cases, although your resolutions are not accepted, they are not wasted, but have led to a fuller understanding of the problem with which they deal. Sometimes, again, your proposals would involve amendments of the Local Self-Government or Village Self-Government Acts, and though desirable in themselves, we may be unwilling to take up such amendments piecemeal. In those cases your recommendations are carefully noted and will be given effect to when the amendment of these Acts is next undertaken.

Of the 19 resolutions passed at last year's conference 14 were carried. The reply of Government which has taken a whole year to prepare has recently been sent to the Commissioner and you will very shortly be made acquainted with our decisions. I hope when you come to consider them you will bear in mind the general considerations which I have mentioned. Some of these

resolutions have been brought to the notice of the officers or departments concerned, as no definite orders seemed to be called for. Let me mention one or two others as illustrations of what I have just been saying. The fourth resolution was in favour of the amendment of the Village Self-Government Act so as to prevent an interregnum on the appointment of new Benches and Courts. Government are able to show you that it is possible for outgoing members to try cases and suits until the formation of the new Benches and Courts. In this case then, although Government have taken no action, they have been able to remove the misapprehension under which you were working.

The eighth resolution urged that Union Boards should have power to realize fees from parties for the service of processes by Union Benches and Courts. But this, we have pointed out, undermines the whole principle of the Union Board system—which is the administration of justice at a minimum of cost, trouble and inconvenience. That is why parties are expected to bring their own witnesses. In this case Government are again able to help the movement by emphasising its guiding principles and correcting at once any tendency to forsake them.

I have dwelt on this subject at some length, because I am anxious to remove any misconception which may exist as to the value which Government attaches to your deliberations and to assure you that they fully appreciate the interest which you take in matters of village self-government. My presence at your annual conference will, I hope, be regarded as a further indication of this.

Now let me examine for a moment the character of the work in which you are engaged. I think you are very fortunate in having the assistance of Mr. Drummond. No one could be more sympathetic both with your objects and with your difficulties, and no one, I think, is better qualified to give just the assistance you require. He informs me that on the whole the Boards are conducting their affairs harmoniously and efficiently with that spirit of goodwill and co-operation on which the success of the system depends. These Union Boards, being the basis of local self-government, it is important to ensure that their foundation is sound and as free as possible from defects. We ought, therefore, to be on the look-out for possible defects, for if they can be detected at the outset, they will be easier to correct. One defect which is almost certain to appear and of which there are already indications in a few unions, arises from party friction. Party opinion is both a necessary ingredient and a source of danger in all representative institutions. It is a necessary ingredient because it leads to organization and if based upon rival constructive programmes, it stimulates progress. It is a danger because it leads to the subordination of public needs to personal and sectional considerations. A necessary feature of all representative bodies is the obligation of a minority to continue its co-operation, even though it cannot give effect to its wishes. The refusal of a party which is in a minority to take any part in the proceedings at all is, of course, a cowardly and suicidal policy. Division into parties based on genuine differences of opinion as

to policy is a natural and healthy development; and each party should try to enforce its policy on the Board by recognized and honourable means. When it is in a minority it must endeavour by helpful criticism to persuade the majority to its way of thinking, and it must be prepared, if successful, to carry out its policy; but to leave the field altogether involves the betrayal of its supporters and the surrender of its policy, as such action leaves the opposite side unchecked by the criticism of its opponents. A minority may not be able to control the policy while it remains a minority, but its criticisms afford a salutary check and should be always welcome to fair-minded opponents.

Another defect may be caused by letting the machinery become too complicated. Union Benches and Courts particularly require to be on their guard against this. Their main object should be the simplification of procedure and the prevention of delay. Their decisions should be as prompt as possible, and if insignificant details and unnecessary adjournments are allowed to prolong the proceedings, the whole object and merit of these local Courts will be defeated. It is always easier to defer a decision, but the greatest boon these Courts can offer to the villagers is that of summary jurisdiction and if the practice of adjournments becomes at all general, it will destroy the whole value of the system.

I have mentioned these possible defects not by way of criticism, but in order that you may be on your guard against them, that you may recognize the symptoms as they occur and take the necessary

steps to correct them. You must remember that, you are pioneers; that you are the first builders of an important system of village self-government, and that if you do your work well, others will be able to build on the foundations that you have laid. It is very encouraging to hear that so far the Union Boards in this district are working so satisfactorily and have brought already to many villages the advantages of improved communications, good water, primary education and medical relief.

I shall now leave you to your deliberations.

***His Excellency's Reply to the Deputation
from the Mahila Samiti which waited
upon him on the 31st March 1925.***

**LADY MOOKERJEE AND MEMBERS OF THE MAHILA
SAMITI,**

I take it as a great compliment that you should have sought an opportunity of discussing with me the work in which I know you are so deeply interested. I take it as a compliment because I feel that it is an honour to be allowed to have a share in the work in which your Association is engaged. I do not think it is possible to overstate the value of an educated womanhood in any country because when we educate the women we are doing more than educate the women themselves: we are educating those who will have responsibility in their turn for the education not only of their girls, but also of their boys in their homes; for it is in the home that all education begins, and, however good the schools may be, they will never be able really to do the best for their pupils unless the homes from which they come are co-operating with them.

I have met some of you, I think, in another connection, when you came to speak to me about the franchise of women in Bengal. I then expressed to you my sympathy with your object, and I told you that I considered that the progress and the standard of civilization in any country could best be measured by the position which its women occupy. I described as most advanced and most in

the van of progress in the world those countries which admitted their women to all their political activities and gave them the full rights, responsibilities and duties of citizenship. I am, therefore, naturally very glad to hear from you about the movement in which you are all interested and which aims at making women fit to carry out those duties and responsibilities, whenever it may please the legislature to give them the opportunities.

You have told me in your address about the work in which you are engaged. I gather that it is principally concentrated in the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School and that it is in regard to that school that you wish particularly to have my help. Well, I can tell you, what you probably know already that Lady Lytton is deeply interested in the welfare of the school. I may also tell you, what you probably do not know, that as soon as her interest in the school was awakened, she lost no time in reminding me that I was not only the Governor, but also, for the time being the Minister for Education! So she said—"What need is there to consult any one else! You are the Government of Bengal in the Education Department, you are the Governor acting with his Minister, and if I can convince you of the needs of this worthy institution, you can consider them and pass orders for them to be satisfied." She said this, firmly believing it and strongly hoping that the Minister of Education would accept the case she was laying before him. I had to explain to her, as I must explain to you, that a Minister, even with the consent of the Governor, is not able to do everything he wishes,

he cannot by a stroke of the pen do exactly what he wants to do. He is but one member of the Government and he has to do and can do only that which the Government, of which he is a member, agrees to do. I can assure you, of course, that I considered the request of the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School with sympathy, and I can promise you "the co-operation and appreciation" which you ask for in your address, but I have also to consider this request in conjunction with other claims from different parts of the province. Your claim is that I should give the school authorities, as a free gift, a piece of land belonging to Government. I told Lady Lytton and I must now tell you that it is not in my power to give any part of the Porra Bazar land as a free gift to anybody because there is a Government resolution to the effect that this land is not to be disposed of at less than its market value. Though I cannot give you this land I am prepared to help you to acquire it. I consulted the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary in the Education Department, and I said to them that it was perfectly obvious that Government must do something for the Gokhale Memorial Girls' School. Both the nature of their work and the contribution of two lakhs of rupees which the authorities of the school were themselves making entitle them to some help in return. I asked the department to let me know whether the amount of our contribution could be equal to the value of the land. If you have not had an answer sooner, it was because the proposal necessitated correspondence with various departments. The enquiry is not yet complete, and I am sorry that I am not in

a position to tell you what is the final result, but I hope that in some way or other we may find it possible to help you to satisfy your needs.

I cannot conclude without thanking you very cordially indeed for the kind sentiments expressed in the last paragraph of your address and for the congratulations which you have offered on my appointment to act temporarily in the place of the Viceroy. I am, of course, pleased with the honour of such promotion and appreciate it, but I admit that I have no wish to leave Bengal at this moment. I have many friends and many interests here which I want neither to part with nor interrupt, but I do feel that it is possible that my new experience may not only be of value to myself, but also to those whom I am trying to help.

I thank you very much indeed. I can assure you of my deep sympathy with the work in which you are engaged and of my determination to do all in my power to promote it.

***His Excellency's Speech at the opening of
the Blind School Building at Behala, on
31st March, 1925.***

MY LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This is a great day in the history of a great charitable movement. To realize how great it is we must go back 30 years. Down to 1894 the blind were left to grope in their darkness—I will not say unpitied because the sight of a blind child cannot fail to arouse the pity of the hardest heart—but unheeded and unhelped. In that year Mr. Shah, whom I think I may describe as the blind child's friend, came upon the scene. He learnt the Braille system and three years later opened a school for the blind in his own house with one pupil.

To-day we are opening a fine new building which will accommodate 50 pupils in healthy open country away from the city and Mr. Shah, I am glad to say, is still with us to see how God has prospered his handiwork.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may, perhaps, expect me to describe to you the merits of this fine new school—to tell you how much better it is than that little room in which the work began or even than the various hired buildings in which it has since found temporary lodging from time to time, during the intervening years; you may wish me to tell you of how the funds have been raised and to thank the subscribers. That has already been so well done by Sir Lancelot Sanderson that I feel I cannot improve on the history which he has given you.

It is, as he has said, a romantic story. The new building is there for you all to see and I will leave you to admire it for yourselves. You have learnt from the Chief Justice the stages by which it has been reached. You have heard from him the names of those to whom we are indebted. Imagine that his story were a cinema film which you have just seen pass upon the screen from start to finish. I want now to replace it in the machine and reverse it. I want you to travel back with me through the intervening years until we arrive at that little room where one blind child first began to learn at the feet of Mr. Shah.

"For I am 'ware it is the seed of act
God holds appraising in his hollow palm
Not act grown great thence on the world below
Leafage and branchage vulgar eyes admire."

Here is the act grown great, the leafage and branchage. But it is still only a small plant, and I hope it will spread and grow still further, but it was in Mr. Shah's house that the seed was first sown and it is this seed of act I would ask you to appraise.

The reason why this work has prospered is because it is sown in love, because one man said in his heart—I will use the life that God has given me to lighten the darkness of those who have been denied the precious gift of sight. Such a seed planted in such a soil was bound to grow, and it is to Mr. Shah that the 50 blind children who will be taught in this building owe everything. The work has long ago passed out of his hands, though I am glad to know that his son is now the Head Master of the school and is carrying on what his father so

hobly began. However great this institution may become, and I hope that it will go on growing steadily in future years, every addition to the building, every rupee added to its endowment, will be due to the man who first planted the seed. That it has not grown more rapidly, that it is still in a struggling condition is due to the fact that more men have not been found with the same inspiration, the same devotion, the same spirit of service which first animated Mr. Shah, and has since inspired the men and women who have carried on his work.

I am not going to sing the praises of this new school, to point out to you its many advantages, and to congratulate the Governors on the achievement. If I were to do so, I might create a wrong impression. You might then go away with the comfortable belief that all that was required was now being done. You might return to your homes and say to your friends—"Is not it a happy thing that these poor blind children are now being cared for and are well taught in a beautiful new building out at Behala." That would be a mistake. The work is not finished, it is scarcely begun. That is why I asked you to go back in imagination to the beginning and to realize that picture of the first blind child receiving its first lesson. All that has happened since only serves to show us what may follow, what should follow from that beginning: it has not brought us to the end or even within sight of the end. I want you to return to your homes and to tell your friends that you have learnt to-day, that the way to relieve the sorrows of the blind and to remedy their deficiencies was pointed out to us

as long ago as 1894 and that the work then initiated has not yet been accomplished: that it has taken 30 years but to make a beginning, and that you want to help those who are doing this work to bring it to a conclusion. If you will but give us your hearts then the necessary money will soon follow.

I am very glad that you should have heard all about this school from the Chief Justice, because this is a work to which he has whole-heartedly devoted himself ever since he first took it up. Outside his professional duties every man has some personal interest or hobby. I really think it would be true to say that outside his duties in Court, Sir Lancelot Sanderson's chief interest is the welfare of the Calcutta Blind School. His position, as President, is by no means nominal. It is due to his genuine interest and personal effort that the appeal which we issued last year has succeeded as well as it has.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have said enough I hope to show you that the work of the blind school is worthy of your support, that it is to men with large hearts rather than to men with large incomes that this work is due. If your interest has been aroused by to-day's proceedings, I hope you will give to those who are labouring in this vineyard the sympathy, the encouragement, and the help which will enable their work to be carried on and extended.

